


# **Mobilised Resources or Unrecognised Assets?**

A Case Study of Swedish Citizens' Paths to Employment in Helsinki

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract  <p>The context of the thesis is found in the sociological discussion on migration and labour market integration of immigrants. The theoretic foothold builds on Pierre Bourdieu's theory on forms of capital and fields. The point of departure for the study is Swedish citizens' paths to employment in Helsinki at the time recently after migration. Swedish migrants without a previous connection to Finland through kin have not been studied in the Finnish context, and the aim is to describe how these migrants gain access to the local labour market in Helsinki. What assets do the Swedish citizens use in order to gain employment in Helsinki? How are these assets achieved? Are the resources migrated from Sweden valued on the field, or do the Swedish migrants have to take further measures in Finland, in order to gain employment? By answering these questions a definition of the prevailing rules on the labour market will also be made.</p> <p>The thesis is written as an independent part of the research project Svenska invandrare i Finland, led by senior lecturer Östen Wahlbeck. The empirical data for the study consists of 14 semi-structured in-depth interviews with Swedish Citizens in Helsinki. The interviews were conducted in the summer and fall of 2012 and have been analysed from an inductive angle.</p> <p>As an immigrant group, the Swedish citizens in Finland are in a specific position as their first language is one of the national languages in Finland. The Swedish citizens actively use the Swedish-speaking labour market as a gateway to employment. The initial occupations of Swedish citizens in Helsinki are on the one hand often situated in Swedish-speaking sectors where the level of required skills or assets might be low, entry-level sectors, and sectors where the specific skills required are corresponding to the national background of the employee, ethno-specific occupations. On the other hand, the interviews also show that some of the interviewed have managed to gain employment that corresponds to their work experience from Sweden.</p> <p>The study shows that the Swedish immigrants only to a limited extent have to rely on unofficial channels to gain employment, and that the assets of the Swedish applicants in many cases have been recognised in their migrated state. In many cases, the applicants have also managed to mobilise their ties to or knowledge of Sweden into a valued asset which enables them to gain employment in Helsinki.</p>		
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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract  <p>Utgångspunkten för denna Pro gradu -avhandling är den sociologiska diskussionen om migration och invandrades arbetsmarknadsintegration. Den teoretiska grunden bygger på Pierre Bourdieus teori om former av kapital och fält. I studien granskas svenska invandrades vägar till anställning vid tidpunkten strax efter invandringen. Svenska medborgare utan tidigare släktkoppling till Finland har inte tidigare studerats i en finsk kontext, och målet är att beskriva hur dessa invandrare tar sig in på den lokala arbetsmarknaden i Helsingfors. Vilka tillgångar kan de svenska medborgarna använda sig av för att få anställning i Helsingfors? Hur kan dessa tillgångar förvärfvas? Värderas de tillgångar som de intervjuade erhållit i Sverige och hämtat med sig i samband med flytten, eller behöver de svenska medborgarna ta till vidare åtgärder i Finland för att få anställning? Genom att dessa frågor besvaras görs även en definition av de rådande reglerna på arbetsmarknaden.</p> <p>Avhandlingen är skriven som en fristående del av forskningsprojektet Svenska invandrare i Finland vilket letts av Universitetslektor Östen Wahlbeck. Det empiriska materialet för studien består av 14 halvstrukturerade djupintervjuer med svenska medborgare i Helsingfors. Intervjuerna utfördes under sommaren och hösten 2012 och har analyserats från ett induktivt perspektiv.</p> <p>Som invandrargrupp är de svenska medborgarna i Finland i en specifik situation, eftersom deras modersmål är ett av nationalspråken i Finland. De svenska medborgarna använder aktivt den svenskspråkiga arbetsmarknaden som inkörsport till anställning. Den första anställningen efter migrationen för svenska medborgare i Helsingfors är å ena sidan ofta inom svenskspråkiga sektorer där kraven på färdigheter eller tillgångar inte är höga, så kallade inkörsanställningar, och sektorer där de uttryckligen efterfrågade färdigheterna motsvarar den nationella bakgrunden för den anställda, etno-specifika anställningar. Å andra sidan påvisar intervjuerna även hur somliga intervjuade har lyckats få anställning som motsvarar deras arbetserfarenhet från Sverige.</p> <p>Studien visar att de svenska invandrarna endast till en begränsad omfattning är i behov av att använda sig av inofficiella kanaler för att få anställning på arbetsmarknaden i Helsingfors, och att de svenska medborgarnas tillgångar i många fall erkänns i deras migrerade form. I många fall har de arbetssökande även haft möjlighet att mobilisera sina band till Sverige och sin kunskap om det svenska samhället till värderade tillgångar på den lokala arbetsmarknaden. Dessa tillgångar har såvida stärkt de Svenska medborgarnas ställning på arbetsmarknaden i Helsingfors.</p>		
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Bourdieu symboliskt kapital socialt kapital kulturellt kapital fält svenska medborgare sysselsättning arbetsmarknad mobiliserbarhet av kapital Helsingfors migration invandrare		

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# **1 Introduction**

Immigration and integration are among the most debated topics in everyday politics and media. Finland has experienced a fast upswing in immigration during the past decades, and the annual number of foreign citizens who have moved to Finland has redoubled in the time period of 2000 to 2010 (Larja et al. 2013, 52). In the following two years, the pace increased even further, as the annual number of foreign citizens moving to Finland increased by almost a third by the end of 2012 (Statistics Finland 2013). This makes the discussion on integration increasingly more important. Legislative and social policy measures are directed towards the employment of immigrants, which is defined as one of the key aspects and main focuses in the discussion on integration into the Finnish society (Martikainen et al. 2012, 140).

This thesis aims to study labour market integration from the perspective of the processes of employment of individual immigrants, through an analysis of how Swedish immigrant applicants may be able to mobilise migrated or locally achieved assets, into valued resources on the labour market in Helsinki. The group in focus are Swedish citizens who do not have ties or social networks through kin to Finnish society prior to migration (for a more explicit definition, see pp. 37 of this thesis). The aim is to answer how these immigrants gain access to the labour market, what rules that prevail on the field.

The group of Swedish citizens in Finland constitutes a category of interest due to the following reasons. Firstly, this is a group that has been researched to a limited extent in the Finnish context (Wahlbeck 2013a, 2011). The lack of research does not only apply for the Swedish citizens in Finland, but is the case also for other inter-Nordic migrants on the Nordic labour markets. Eskil Wadensjö (2010, 20-21) has compiled statistical information on the labour market situation of inter-Nordic migrants, and calls attention to the fact that only a limited amount of contemporary research has been conducted on the topic. Some studies have been conducted, such as Saarela and Finnäs' (2007), Saarela and Rooths' (2006) and Korkiasaari's (2000, 171-198) studies of Finnish immigrants in the Swedish labour market, and Helander's (2004) study on the notion of nationalism and

globalisation in Swedish-Finnish enterprises. To my knowledge, there are no previous studies of the labour market position of Swedish citizens in Finland. This is surprising as the ties between Finland and Sweden are many and strong and go a long way back in history, as Finland was a part of Sweden until 1809 (Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000). Still today there are wide ranging connections between the countries on both micro and macro levels (Finnish customs 2014; Helander 2004, 1999; Korkiasaari 2000).

Secondly, the Swedish citizens in Finland are as an immigrant group in a special position, due to both their national background and first language. The group is difficult to pin down in statistical surveys. This is because, on the one hand, the fact that the first language of the Swedish citizens is one of the national languages in Finland (Finnish National Constitution 1999 §17). On the other hand, the fact that the group of migrants from Sweden to Finland contain a large share of people who hold ties to Finland as a result of the extensive previous migration flows between the two countries (Wahlbeck 2013a; Statistics Finland 2011; Jaakkola 2000, 28; Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000).

The group of Swedish immigrants in Helsinki are in a specific position also in the context of the labour market. Previous research has declared that people with migrant backgrounds tend to hold a poorer labour market position than the majority population, which, for example, appears as lower levels of income (Saarela and Rooth 2006, 124; Friedberg 2000; Chiswick 1978). This is explained with the idea that migrated assets (i.e. language skills, educational degrees, social networks or work life experiences) may lose their value outside of the context in which they are achieved (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; on migrated educational qualifications and income: Friedberg 2000). Employers in the labour market in the country of settlement might not acknowledge or recognise the assets of the migrants (Erel 2010, 649; Valtonen 2001; Naumanen and Silvennoinen 1996). With time, the newcomers usually achieve more locally anchored assets, or may redefine or reformulate the migrated assets, with the result of an improved labour market position in the country of settlement, once these assets are recognised (Erel 2010, 649; Chiswick 1978).

Immigrants with a background in a country or society that is perceived to have equal or similar aspects as the country of destination are more likely to be able to migrate their assets than immigrants from countries that are culturally more dissimilar (Forsander 2013, 231; Chiswick 1978). Applied on the group of Swedish citizens on the labour market in Helsinki, this means that, at least in theory, the assets of the Swedish citizens to some extent should be portable and recognised on the local labour market.

In the cases when the migrated resources remain unrecognised, research has shown that the social network of the immigrant is of great importance, not only for providing the migrant with general support (Cederberg 2012; Ryan 2011; Ryan et al. 2008; Anthias 2007), but also for providing the immigrant with both information about vacancies (Wahlbeck 2010) and actual employment opportunities (Cederberg 2012), which may enable the immigrant to get past the obstacles of gaining employment through official channels.

In the theoretical context of this thesis, labour market integration is debated in relation to the use of different forms of symbolic capitals, which may be mobilised into valued assets in the situation of employment. Useful social networks are defined as social capital (Bourdieu 1986, 248), and other forms of capital are cultural capital, i.e. qualifications in form of educational degrees or personality, and economic capital, resources that have the potential to be converted into money (Bourdieu 1986). These forms of capitals gain their value in relation to a field, a specific area, where they may or may not be recognised. I have chosen to use Bourdieu's (1986) contribution of forms of capitals and fields as a theoretical framework for this thesis, as it has been proven to be a fruitful toolkit in studies on the same topic as mine (ex. Ryan 2011; Erel 2010; Ryan et al. 2008; Forsander 2002). Bourdieu (1984, 1986) manages to link structure and agency, surroundings and individual possibilities in his theory. Focus is set on the individual and the resources he or she can access or possess, in a setting of a field in which certain forms of capital are valued. Furthermore, I intend to use Floya Anthias' (2007) definition of mobilisable resources as symbolic capital. According to Anthias (2007, 792), only the resources, which are recognised in the studied context, can be classified as symbolic capital of an individual (within that specific context).



Thus I am interested in the processes of how or if the Swedish citizens might gain access to the field, the local labour market (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 100). Are they able to mobilise migrated assets, or do they have to use other strategies to improve their value on the labour market in Helsinki? This allows me to capture the prevailing rules on the labour market, to define what is valued, and thus also to some extent define what Swedish citizens might need in order to gain employment (cf. Bourdieu 1997, 1986; Bourdieu and Johnston 1993). How do newly arrived Swedish citizens manage in the labour market in Helsinki? What skills, social ties or personality are valued? Are the Swedish immigrants valued as applicants in the local labour market, or do they have to rely on social networks to gain employment?

The thesis is written in the context of the research project *Svenska invandrare i Finland*, (Swedish Immigrants in Finland) led by Senior Lecturer Östen Wahlbeck. The overall aim of the project has been to study the migration patterns of Swedish citizens arriving to Finland, as well as the ethnic boundary making related to the Swedish and Finnish language groups in Finland. In 2011-2012 I worked as a full time research assistant in the project, which gave me valuable insight into the research topic. All the interviews for this thesis are also included in the analysis of the larger project.

The thesis is structured in the following way; first, in Chapter two, the reader is introduced to the historical and statistical context of migration in Finland, with a special emphasis on the Swedish immigrants in Finland. In the following chapter, a discussion on resources on the labour market with the specific emphasis on the Finnish context is followed by an elaborate reflection on symbolic-, and specifically social capital. The aim of the third chapter is to establish my choices of the theoretic framework used in the analysis, as well as define my research questions. In Chapter four I discuss my methodological choices, and in the analysis section of the thesis, Chapters five, six and seven, the pathways to employment of Swedish citizens in Helsinki are discussed in detail. In the final chapter the study is summed up in a discussion on the results.

## **2 Historical and statistical context of the study**

### **2.1 Migration patterns between Finland and Sweden**

Finland has, seen from a historical perspective, been a country of *emigration* rather than a country of *immigration*. Employment, and especially the lack thereof in Finland, has both tempted and forced people to relocate. The first major wave of migration took place before and during the modernisation of society, as the Finns, along with other people from northern countries migrated to North America and Australia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Martikainen et al. 2013, 28-29; Forsander 2002, 16). The second major wave of Finnish emigrants, on the other hand, travelled a far shorter distance in the search for employment, to the neighbouring country of Sweden. After the Second World War, during the 1960s and -70s, a mass migration evolved as Finnish migrants travelled to Sweden as (mostly) workforce in the developing industrial country. Martikainen et al. (2013, 30-31) point to the fact that the reasons for emigration to a large extent were based on the economic- demographic- and political changes that took place in the Finnish society at the time (see also Saarela and Rooth 2006; Korkiasaari 2000, 135-154). The main migration flow went from the peripheral areas to the cities within Finland, but many people also migrated to Sweden, which experienced a drastic economic and industrial upswing at the time (Martikainen et al. 2013, 30; Korkiasaari 2000, 143-144).

As many as 575 000 people are calculated to have moved from Finland to Sweden during the time period of 1945-2010 (Martikainen et al. 2013, 30; Korkiasaari 2000, 156). Important to consider, however, is the fact that 330 000 people moved in the opposite direction during the same period of time, a group that consisted mostly of returnees but also of Swedish citizens (Korkiasaari 2000, 156). After the rapid upswing at the turn of the decade in the 1960s 1970s, the migration flows to Sweden ebbed out because of labour market changes in both Finland and Sweden. The reasons for migration shifted from being strictly work oriented to being based on a variety of other factors (Wahlbeck 2013a, 2).

Migration from Finland to Sweden and the return migration that followed has been extensively studied in the Finnish context (ex. Saarela and Finnäs 2007; Korkiasaari and Tarkiainen 2000; Nyman-Kurkiala 1999; Korkiasaari 1985).

Surprisingly little interest has been placed on the contemporary migration flows of Swedish citizens from Sweden to Finland. Östen Wahlbeck (2013a) discusses the flow of Swedish migrants without previous connections to Finland, who to an increasing extent are arriving in Finland today. The group is not explicitly a part of the previous migration flows, but should be understood as an outcome of the migration flows between the two countries. Wahlbeck (2011, 22) states that the migration history between the two countries shows several characteristics of contemporary transnationalism. He further interprets the migration as an outcome of a transnational social space that has evolved between the two countries. Due to the shared history between the two countries, migration in both ways has always existed, also before the mass migration at the end of the 1960s (cf. Faist 2000).

Over the past 20 years there has been a steady flow of migrants from Finland to Sweden (approximately 3200 migrants/year) and from Sweden to Finland (approximately 3500 migrants/year). These migrants are to a large extent Finnish citizens who travel or return to either country, or children of Finnish migrants. However, the share of Finnish citizens moving from Sweden to Finland has decreased annually during the past years, from around 3000 people annually in 1991 to ca. 2000 people annually in 2010 (Wahlbeck 2013a, 9). This gap has mostly been filled with Swedish citizens. The number of Swedish migrants arriving in Finland may be small, but this shift indicates a clear change in the migration patterns thus far. The Swedish migrants arriving today should not be mistaken for returnees, as statistical data show that exceedingly few hold dual Finnish-Swedish citizenship, and that most of the migrants are relatively young, thus not previous migrants who would have changed citizenship after migrating themselves (Wahlbeck 2013a, 11; see Chapter 2.2 for a detailed statistical description).

In Sweden, Finland is one of the most common countries of origin for either partner in interregional marriages (cf. Haandrikman 2014). This is one of the reasons for the above-mentioned change in the proportions of people moving from Sweden to Finland. Due to the fact that there is a high rate of intermarriage between the two groups, Swedish citizens get involved in the migration patterns between the two countries, as their Finnish partner may move 'back' to Finland. As is the case for many other migrant groups arriving in Finland, Swedish migrants

often tend to move to Finland because of a (Finnish) partner (Wahlbeck 2013a, 11).

Out of all mixed Swedish-Finnish Families residing in Finland around one third, 1282 families are constituted of a Swedish woman and a Finnish male. Almost double the amount, a number of 2269 families, are constituted of a Finnish woman and a Swedish male. Only 349 families residing in Finland are constituted of two Swedish partners (Statistics Finland 2010). As Wahlbeck (2013a, 13) states, these figures strengthen the argument of the main reason for moving to Finland is connected to a Finnish partner, and mostly a Finnish female. The same gender division is found when looking into the statistics about permanently residing Swedish citizens in both Finland as a whole and Helsinki as a specific region. When looking at the gender division for the whole country, there are 4937 men and 3573 Swedish women residing permanently in Finland. Out of the 1278 Swedish citizens in Helsinki, around two thirds, 803 are men, and 475 are female (Wahlbeck 2013a, 13).

More Swedish men move to Finland, and this could be interpreted as a result of Finnish women moving to and from Sweden, bringing a Swedish partner back with them. Thus Wahlbeck (2013a, 13) states that the transnational social space between Sweden and Finland has a gender imbalance

[N]ew people who have not been part of the original migration from Finland to Sweden become involved in the return migration to Finland. With the passing of time, the 'mixed return migration' seems to become an increasingly significant part of the migration dynamics (Wahlbeck 2013a, 14).

The fact that both Finland and Sweden are member states of the European Union facilitates migration between the two countries through several agreements, including free movement over the borders within the union (Aliens Act 307/2004, 10<sup>th</sup> Chapter). Through the Agreement Concerning a Common Nordic Labour Market, citizens of Nordic countries are also allowed to "*freely take up employment and settle in another Nordic country*" (The Nordic Council 1982). The first EU agreement on free mobility to which Finland was attached was the Schengen agreement from 1985. The regulations were implemented in 1995, and included in the EU framework in 1999. From 2001 onward, Finland has, among 22 other

member states and Norway, Iceland, and Switzerland, been a part of a passport-free zone (Makkonen and Koskeniemi 2013, 69). Members of the EU have the right to vote in municipal elections and EU-parliament elections if residing permanently in another member state.

Since 2003, it is possible to have dual Finnish-Swedish citizenship in Finland (since the year 2001 in Sweden). In terms of naturalization, citizens from the Nordic countries have slightly less restrictive demands than immigrants from other countries. As stated in the Nationality act (359/2003), a citizen of a Nordic country may apply for Finnish citizenship after two years of residence in Finland, and acquire citizenship by declaration after five years of residence in Finland. In order to gain citizenship, the applicant has to, among other demands, pass a language test in either national language (Makkonen and Koskeniemi 2013, 77).

Contact is maintained between the two neighbouring countries both on a micro and macro level. Both Swedish and Finnish industries, businesses and corporations have a history of being active in both countries, dating back to before 1809 when Finland was still a part of Sweden. Mika Helander has studied collaboration between the two countries, and states that Sweden is the country that Finland, seen from a historical perspective, has the most extensive co-operation with (Helander 1999, 13, 1992, 1991). Helander (1999, 13) considers the two states to be in a state of interdependence, where the two countries mutually influence the development in one another, but where the emphasis lies on the flows from Sweden to Finland. He further states that wide-ranging connections between the countries can be found within trade, industry and municipal collaborations. In 2013, the value of the export from Finland to Sweden was 6,5 billion Euros, which also is the largest share to a single country. Regarding import, Sweden is the third biggest country after Russia and Germany (Finnish customs 2014).

## **2.2 A Brief Overview of Immigrants on the Labour Market in Finland**

The migrants arriving to Finland constitute a diverse group, with differing countries of origin, reasons for migration, language skills and levels of education (Martikainen et al. 2012, 129; Ministry of the Interior [no date]). Immigrants are

not registered as a category as such or according to ethnic origin in the database of the Central Statistical Office of Finland (Act on personal data 1999, 11§). Instead, country of birth, nationality and first language are factors used to define immigrants in the statistics, all giving slightly differing answers and descriptions. In the case of Swedish immigrants, the lines are blurred as the first language of most Swedes also is one of the official national languages in Finland. Furthermore, as stated, many Finns have migrated to Sweden, and some of these migrants changed citizenship to Swedish, as it before 2001/2003 was not possible to embody dual citizenship. By the end of the 1990s there were 30 000 people in Finland who were born in Sweden, but only 8 000 of these were Swedish citizens (Jaakkola 2000, 28)

In comparison to other European countries, Finland has not had as big a need for manual workers as many other countries. Due to the recession at the beginning of the 1990s, the need to recruit low-skilled labour force from outside the country was not as big as for example the case was in Germany or the Netherlands (cf. Castels and Miller 2009, 225). Thus immigrants were not to the same extent seen as a resource for the labour market as in other European countries, where a large amount of the manual workers had immigrant backgrounds and came from developing countries (Castels and Miller 2009, 97, 225). The outflow of the workforce in the past has also influenced the Finnish migration policies, as returnees and their descendants are seen as potential workers in an ageing society, and thus a desirable group of immigrants (Forsander 2002, 20).

In Finland in the beginning of the 90s, the influence of the recession on the industrial labour market also led to a shift regarding the employing sector for immigrants. Since that time, the service sector has become the most common sector for *entry-level jobs* for immigrants, i.e. low-paid jobs that have low requirements regarding language skills or other forms of cultural knowledge. Unlike in most of Europe, the service sector in Finland has, since the beginning of immigration, been the main employing sector for newly arrived migrants (Forsander 2002, 43-44; Kyhä 2011, 75; cf. Urban 2013).

By the end of 2011, 4,8 per cent out of the Finnish population were of foreign origin, e.g. people who are born outside of Finland and the children of these. Out of

this group, roughly a seventh part belongs to the second-generation population of foreign origin, in other words the children of the first generation of population of foreign origin. The group of people originating from the former Soviet Union or Russia constituted the largest category of the population of foreign origin residing in Finland by December 31, 2011, followed by Estonia, Somalia, Iraq and the former republic of Yugoslavia. More than half of the population of foreign origin, 59 per cent of the group, come from a European country. Half of the foreign originated population live in the Uusimaa region, with the highest share living in Helsinki, closely followed by Vantaa and Espoo (Statistics Finland 2012a; Arajärvi 2009, 12). Out of the foreign origin population within working age (18-64 years), the employment rate is just over 50 per cent, a share that is clearly lower than for the population of Finnish origin, who had an employment rate of 70 per cent by the end of 2011 (Statistics Finland 2012b).

When looking into statistics specifically concerning Swedish citizens residing in Finland, the picture is somewhat different than that of the foreign origin population in general. By the 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2010, there were 8 510 Swedish citizens residing in Finland (Statistics Finland 2011). This category does not include the group of 5275 Finnish citizens who embody dual or multiple citizenships that include Swedish citizenship (Statistics Finland 2010). Out of the 8 510 Swedish citizens, as many as 3 832 were registered as Finnish speakers, a number that can be explained with the (return)migration of Finnish citizens and their children. This leaves the population of Swedish-speaking, Swedish citizens without dual Swedish-Finnish citizenship to a group of 4 678 people. By the end of 2010, 1278 Swedish citizens (without dual citizenship) were permanent residents in Helsinki (Wahlbeck 2013a, 6), and out of this group, 352 men and 163 women had stated Swedish as their official first language (Statistics Finland 2012d). Due to the fact that Helsinki is the region with the largest single population of Swedish citizens in Finland, I have chosen to focus on the labour market situation in Helsinki.

By the end of 2009, around half of the Swedish population in Finland was within working age (18-68 years). The other half of the population is largely constituted of senior citizens (ca. 25 per cent), and students (ca. 10 per cent). The remaining share is mainly constituted of, for example recruits in the military or alternative

service, or people on parental leave. The employment rate for the Swedish Citizens in Finland is 85 per cent, which is considerably higher than the employment rate for both the immigrants in Finland in general, and the majority population in Finland (Statistics Finland 2012b; Statistics Finland 2012c) Out of the employed Swedish citizens, the clear majority (90 %) were employees. A tenth of the Swedish population within working age were self-employed or entrepreneurs by the end of 2009 (Statistics Finland 2012c). This being said, the statistical background indicates that the Swedish citizens manage well to gain employment in the Finnish labour market.

### **3 Previous Research and Theoretical Framework**

#### **3.1 Discussion on valued assets on the Finnish Labour Market**

Annika Forsander (2002, 52) has in her doctoral thesis studied labour market positions of immigrants in Finland, and shows that the position of the immigrant improves with time spent in the country. The statement builds on Barry Chiswick's (1978) study of income distribution of immigrants in the USA. Forsander (2002) explains that the improved position should be understood through a developed integration to the country resulting in improved work-, language and educational skills. With time spent in the country of destination the cultural knowledge in form of, for example language skills, working experience or educational degrees, and the social networks one can make use of increase (cf. Cederberg 2012). The migrant learns the rules of the field, and manages to improve his or her status by accumulating acknowledged symbolic capital (more detailed discussion further on in this chapter).

Previous research has stressed the importance of a social network in the process of gaining employment in Finland (cf. Cederberg 2012; Linnanmäki-Koskela 2010; Ahmad 2005; Forsander 2002 205; Valtonen 2001; Naumanen and Silvennoinen 1996). For migrants this on the one hand means that they, as outsiders, may lack the needed social networks, but on the other hand also that the migrant may gain valuable information about available vacancies, and his or her contacts may "put in a good word" for him or her, if such networks exist (Forsander 2002, 205; Valtonen 2001; Hagan 1998).



Approximately 60-65 per cent of the migrants who arrive in Finland have a connection to a residing person, usually a relationship with a Finnish partner (Martikainen et al. 2012, 129). It is still important to remember that people often migrate due to several reasons, as the overall situation is taken into account when making the final decision to migrate. The reason for staying can also differ from the reason for migration. Minna Säävälä (2013, 107, 111-112) distinguishes between two main forms of partner migration to Finland. In the first case the partner is Finnish, and lives in Finland. In the second case, two persons from the same country (often) together move to the country of settlement.

Marriage or a partner as a reason for migration is a phenomenon that appeared also in the material for this thesis, as most of the interviewees had moved to Finland due to a Finnish partner. One of the interviewees for the thesis had moved to Finland together with a Swedish partner. Out of the Finnish-Swedish couples, most had met in Sweden or in a third country, and later decided to move to Finland.

Säävälä also (2013, 110) discusses the role of a partner in relation to successful integration into the Finnish society. Tal Spalter (2010, 334) notes that men tend to join their partner's networks more often than females. Women, he states "*create new social ties, integrate and run the joint network*". A marriage to a Finn does not however form an automatic or effortless path of integration into the country of settlement. Especially for immigrants from third world countries there are still structural and prejudicing factors, which have a strong impact on the successful integration of an immigrant (Säävälä 2013, 110). In the case of this thesis, however, the partners of the interviewed have in several cases been of great importance for the integration process of the interviewed. Forsander (2002, 209) states that in order for the immigrant to gain employment in an occupational sector of "high status", i.e., a high-skill sector, he or she will need ties to the majority population, who accordingly know people in the sector of interest (cf. Valtonen 2001; Hagan 1998).

Language skills are important assets for succeeding in gaining employment in Finland (Forsander 2013, 2002, 185-192; Kyhä 2011, 139; Jaakkola and Reuter 2007; Ahmad 2005; Sutela 2005). The situation in Finland differs from many other

countries, as the linguistic legislation is fairly developed. In the constitution (§17) both the two national languages are mentioned, together with Sámi language, Romani and sign language. All permanent residents state their first language for the national statistical database. In the cases when the registered states a language other than Finnish or Swedish as a first language, the person has to choose which of the two national languages he or she prefers to use as when in contact with the authorities (Latomaa et al. 2013, 166).

Hanna Sutela (2005, 87) states that those immigrants who consider themselves to have very good language skills in Finnish, to a greater extent also have employment that corresponds to their level of education, in comparison to those who state to have only fairly good proficiency in Finnish. Sutela (2005) however also points out that proficiency in Finnish often goes together with an educational degree achieved in Finland, a factor that also influences the employability of an immigrant. Whether or not it is possible to survive on the Finnish labour market without Finnish language skills is a two-sided matter. On the one hand language skills in Finnish (or Swedish) are required for most employments in Finnish society today, but on the other hand there are an increasing amount of vacancies in which the everyday language used is English. Especially in the IT and financial sectors, businesses are dependent of foreign workers and competence, and the daily work is handled in English (Forsander 2013, 232; see also Raghuram 2008; Trux 2010).

Karin Creutz and Mika Helander (2012) have studied integration processes among immigrants who have chosen Swedish as their first language, through analysis of register data, surveys, and interviews with people residing in the capital area. Creutz and Helander (2012, 92) state that many of the interviewed perceived knowledge in Swedish to be useful on the labour market in Finland. In their opinion Swedish is perceived as an extra asset besides skills in their first language, English and sometimes Finnish.

Some migrants have a better starting point regarding the socioeconomic integration, as certain kinds of resources and assets anchored in particular countries may be valued higher than other kinds. Forsander (2013, 231) points out that resources are partially bound to the society in which they are achieved (see

also Linnanmäki Koskela 2010). For example, an educational degree that has been gained in a specific country or context, will probably also have higher value within that same context, than outside of it (Friedberg 2000). Forsander (2013, 231) continues by stating that unrecognised educational achievements form an extensive hindrance for migrants in the labour market. A factor that influences the value of the degree is also from which specific country it has been achieved. With European regulation such as the Bologna process, for example, university degrees from within the European Union have been harmonised so that they should be comparable and thus accepted in all EU countries. The situation is worst for immigrants arriving as refugees or from third world countries, as these people might not have had the possibility to gain valuable resources in the home country in the first place (Forsander 2002, 179, 217, ).

Research on discrimination on the labour market in Finland has shown that ethnic origin or skin colour of the applicant was the third most common factor that was perceived to influence employers' decisions to choose either one of two otherwise equal applicants (Larja et al. 2012, 54). In a study of experiences of discrimination in recruitment, 81 per cent of the Somalis reported having experienced discrimination in 2001, which is the highest share of reported experiences for any group. The groups which reported least experiences of discrimination in recruitment were the Estonians (35 per cent) and the Ingrian-Finns (46 per cent)(Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2002, 120). The successes of the groups have been explained by good skills in Finnish and knowledge or understanding of the Finnish culture (Heikkilä and Pikkarainen 2007). As the employment rate for the Swedish citizens in Finland is so high, it seems like the same would apply also on this group (Statistics Finland 2012b). Mika Helander (2004, 279) even states that *"On a structural level the countries are now relatively similar and no clear asymmetry appears in the matters regarding economic welfare, societal structure or global, political influence"* (S.F transl.).

Forsander (2013, 222-223, 2002, 154, 169) discusses ethno-specific occupations where the employed should possess certain skills or knowledge. These positions have evolved through and next to the immigrant service tasks that have been established in, for example, the municipalities. Examples of such employments are translators, personal assistants or language teachers (see also Kyhä 2011, 75).

Many of these professions require high levels of education and work-life experience, but still offer little or no security regarding contracts, as the workforce to a large extent is self-employed. The ethno-specific labour markets could be defined as the occupations to which the Finnish population does not apply or does not possess the required skills for (Haapakorpi 2007, 216). Forsander (2013, 223) underlines that the people active in ethno-specific entry-level jobs seldom have an officially recognised competence for the job in the country of settlement. Also, the fact that the jobs are ethnically bound makes them uncertain, as mobility outside of the community or group may be difficult or almost impossible. Even though few originally plan a lifelong career in these sectors, people may often find themselves active in similar jobs after several years (Valtonen 2001, 1997).

Kathleen Valtonen (2001) has studied labour market integration of refugees in Finland, and found that many of especially the highly skilled interviewed are struggling in finding employment corresponding to their educational degree. Despite locally anchored education or language skills, the interviewed have faced prejudice and racism when seeking employment. Valtonen (2001, 431) talks about a “confidence threshold” a limit of reliance set by the employer which the applicant cannot fulfill. Forsander (2002, 216) turns the matter around, and defines the phenomenon as a lack of credence capital, an asset the newcomer needs for the employers to accept him or her as a candidate.

In the context of access to the labour market, possessing credence capital means that the applicant, through people who are familiar with his or her working skills, may prove him or her to be a good worker. As Forsander (2002, 216) states, the competence of the applicant is tied to a perceived and ascribed value, which is mediated through trustworthy or documentable evidence within that specific context. Naumanen and Silvennoinen (1996, 78-80) define these trustworthy pieces of evidence for a competence for a job not to be simply an educational degree, but more to do with personality, or work experience, grounded in a person who may put in a good word for the applicant. The (local) work experience is perceived to at least in some sense guarantee the competence of the applicant.

Forsander (2002, 43-44) further discusses entry-level jobs, low-skill occupations in which a person who enters the labour market from the outside, may find initial

employment. Typical entry-level job sectors usually employ people that seek to gain access to the labour market from outside of the workforce, for example young people or immigrants that lack experience or skills needed for other jobs (Kyhä 2011, 76; Wahlbeck 2007). Uncertainty and unsteadiness regarding the continuance of contracts is typical for these jobs. What the employed can gain from the vacancy is nevertheless (besides an income), also a possibility to improve his or her language- or work related skills. In some cases the entry-level jobs can also become mobility traps, as it for some reason may be difficult for the employed to move further in his or her career, thus only gaining employment within low-skill sectors (Forsander 2013, 222; Urban 2013; Ahmad 2005).

Even though hindrances to labour market access and achievement in several cases can be legitimated, there are studies that prove wide occurrences of discrimination and racism against immigrants on the Finnish labour market. An immigrant's lack of country specific skills is often used as an argument or excuse for not offering him or her occupation. Akhlaq Ahmad (2010, 2005) has for his doctoral thesis conducted a study of the climate towards immigrants from the Indian subcontinent on the Finnish labour market. He condemns the apprehension that a weaker positioning of immigrants on the labour market would only lie in the assets or capabilities of the immigrant, and argues for a clearer focus on the influence and role of the encompassing society. Ahmad (2010, 89) asks for a shift from the focus set simply on the skills and abilities of the employee, towards a model where also the employers get an opportunity to develop their attitudes and knowledge.

In the following theoretical overview I intend to introduce the reader to the sociological debate on resources in the form of symbolic- and especially social capital. Social capital has since the 1980s become an established and central concept in modern sociology and many recognized sociologists have contributed to the discussion (ex. Portes 2011, 2000, 1998; Putnam 2000, 1995; Coleman 1988; Bourdieu 1986; Granovetter 1973). Since the 1990s', the concept has faced something of an inflation, and is today widely used in the everyday discussion in media and politics. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the initial meaning(s) of the concept in order to use it in a fruitful way in a sociological discussion. Through the overview I strive to demonstrate my theoretical choices,

by referring to the use of, and the criticism posed towards, the different definitions.

### **3.2 Forms of Capital and Field – A Short Introduction to the Vocabulary of Bourdieu**

Bourdieu (1989, 14) classifies himself as a constructivist structuralist, or a structuralist constructivist. According to Bourdieu the society should be understood through the combination of structuralism, the notion of objective structures within the larger social world which remain unaffected by the actions of agents, and constructivism. Constructivism for Bourdieu implies the notion of a combination of habitus, the patterns of embodied human consciousness and action, and social structures, which are defined as fields and groups (Bourdieu 1989, 14). In other words, human action should be understood in a context of a static structure, but within which the action on the one hand is influenced by the social environment and social definitions of valued characteristics, and on the other hand the embodied aspects of this structure.

According to Bourdieu (1997, 1984), social action should neither be understood only from a macro-perspective, nor only a micro-perspective. Through his theory of practice, Bourdieu manages to depict and structure the actions of individuals, and thus also tie them to the greater social structures. This he does by picturing the individuals as creators of social practices within a greater social space. The actions are governed by certain patterns or logics of customs (Chudikowski and Mayrhofer 2011, 22). In his theory, Bourdieu uses the concepts of field and symbolic capital. The field can be understood as a social area within which social action, struggles over power relations, take place. The currency is constituted of different forms of capital, symbolic and economic, which might be embodied, but are influenced by the field and the encompassing society (ex. Bourdieu 1986, 1977).

In the essay *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between three forms of capital; economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, which all

influence and embody class membership. The first capital, economic capital is directly convertible into money, and can be institutionalised into different forms of property. The two other forms, if recognised, are defined as symbolic capital and are more abstract. The cultural capital can be defined as a class bound capital, a person's societal position, expressed through 'good taste'. The cultural capital can exist in the embodied, objectified and institutionalised form. The embodied and objectified forms of cultural capital constitute symbols for values, thus legitimising other forms of capital, including economic capital (Anthias 2007, 790). As Erel (2010, 643) points out, whether cultural resources are convertible to other forms of capital or not, defines if these can be considered as cultural capital or not. Social capital is defined as the social resources that a person has access to through the networks and connections he or she has within reach (Bourdieu 1986, 248).

A person's embodied cultural capital cannot be transmitted directly from person to person, but must be accumulated over a period of socialisation. The embodied cultural capital can be defined as competence in 'good taste' or behaviour, and can be obtained and increased in an indirect way, in relation to the encompassing society and the social class the person is categorised with (Bourdieu 1986, 244). This can be described with the concept of habitus. A person's habitus can be defined as an identity-forming, behavioural building block, which both enable and constrain the action of the individual. The habitus is relational to the surroundings, as different conditions create different habitus. In other words, the habitus could be understood as the possibilities an individual acquires within a certain field (Bourdieu 1984, 166).

Embodied cultural capital or habitus is linked to the labour market in the sense that there is a certain predominated culture to which the majority population is accustomed and socialised into. There are unwritten rules that an immigrant may not know of, or might not have access to information from which to learn to know of. Forsander (2002, 56) gives the example of teamwork, which is facilitated by knowledge of the cultural codes of the majority. In the objectified form, the cultural capital is visualised through symbolising, concrete objects such as books, instruments or paintings. In its third form, the institutionalised state, the cultural capital is grounded in the encompassing society, and may be visualised through educational qualifications or other long-term investments (Bourdieu 1986).

The different forms of capital are to a certain extent translatable into one another. A large amount of economic capital enables the individual to increase the level of, for example objectified cultural capital. The habitus is relational to the micro setting through the capital and resources available to the family, as the individual is socialised within the setting of family. Thus, according to Bourdieu (1984), the habitus is also the base for the societal position. A person with considerable amounts of capital (ex. a person from a noble family), has a higher probability of increasing the amount of capital, than the one with less (ex. a peasant) (Bourdieu 1984).

The social capital defined by Bourdieu (1986, 248)

Is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group, - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world.

Social capital can, in other words, be defined as the connections an individual possesses, and the gains one can get through these networks. The size of the networks that the individual can make use of defines the volume of social capital the individual possesses. Put in a labour market perspective, social capital can be defined as the connections the person has, through which he or she can gain access to vacancies or useful information in the market. The connections are kept up due to the positive outcomes one may gain by belonging in the first place. Members invest in membership and might gain collectively from the network (Bourdieu 1986).

A field is a specific area within which a certain logic of accumulation of capital exists (Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). In fact, “*a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 101). The power-relations within the field are exposed through the structure of the field, which, for its part, is defined by the distribution of the field-specific capital. The field constitutes a network of positions within which the involved people act according to certain rules and patterns (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 97). These patterns are connected and influenced by the capitals that are valued within the



field, as the actors strive to improve their position through accumulation of (field specific, valued) capital. Thus the structure of the field should be understood through the interests of the actors and through what the actors place value on (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993; Bourdieu 1977).

A common characteristics for the field is that it is maintained by a struggle between those who are in the position of legitimate power, the dominating ones, and those who are striving to improve their position, the dominated ones (Bourdieu 1997). The actors in dominating positions attempt to maintain the rules of the field and their control over the legitimate violence, whereas the dominated actors try to accumulate their field-specific capital by changing the rules of the field, and in that way improve their position (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). These actions, based on the logic of the field, should not be perceived as simply results of conscious choices, but as unconscious strategies influenced by both habitus and field. Thus, all struggles over capitals should be understood as subconscious processes, products of habitualised dispositions and strategies (Bourdieu 1997, 129).

A field does not have clear boundaries, due to its constructed existence. Within the field, the actors differentiate themselves from the ones closest to themselves, in order to improve and guarantee their own position. A field ends where the effects of the rules and values of capitals within that field lose their value. The field is founded on a shared conception of meaning, and ceases to exist when this conception loses its relevance for the people involved (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 100). In this thesis, the labour market in the Helsinki area is considered as a field, on which the Swedish citizens are considered to be actors who position themselves in relation to the dominating majority population. The rules of the field are set by the majority, leaving the newcomers in a position of struggle for success in form of desirable employment.

Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011, 24) argue that the capitals only gain their value in relation to a field where they are recognised (see also Anhtias 2007, 793). By this they refer to the way Bourdieu manages to combine the influence of different levels on human action. As stated, the field works through logics and rules of human action, battles over power within a stated area. The fields however

also constitute the arena in which capitals can be transformed into symbolic capital i.e. power, as the criteria for valid symbolic capital is set within the fields.

The way Bourdieu is capable of combining different levels of factors that influence human action constitutes a great strength of his theory.

Habitus is a relational concept. Yet, by its formation during early socialization as incorporated individual history and through the circular linkage with the respective field(s), it is connected with the context. Capitals, while linked to the individual, only become symbolic capital and, hence, relevant through recognition in the respective field(s) (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer 2011, 24).

Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011) applaud Bourdieu's action theory as it allows the researcher to acknowledge both structure and agency without dismissing either point of departure. In fact the theory manages to combine the two through the idea of neither being possible without the other. The habitus influences the individual in such way that he or she is likely to act or think according to the rules of the field, and the field mirrors the valued capitals among the individuals. As Bourdieu (1990, 12) puts it, the person acts "*intentionally without intention*" within the reachable field, the "*space of possibles*".

### **3.3 Viewpoints and Definitions of Social Capital**

As previously mentioned, there are several scholars involved in the debate on social capital. In the following section I shortly introduce some of the more known contributions, in an attempt to give a comprehensive overview of the debate and how the different viewpoints relate to one another. At the end of this section, the theorists will be tied together with reference to Madeleine Leonard's (2004) discussion and overview on bonding and bridging capital.

#### **3.3.1 Enabling or Restricting Social Networks?**

The American sociologist James S. Coleman (1988, 98) sees social capital as being "*defined by its function*", "*a particular kind of resource available to an actor*". In Coleman's contribution, social capital is discussed in relation to *human capital*,

which can be defined as knowledge or skills that the individual possesses. Coleman uses the concept of human capital in a similar sense as Bourdieu (1986, 243) defines cultural capital. In his article he however links the accessibility to ways of increasing human capital, to the social capital an individual has access to. In other words, in order to enhance ones human capital, one also needs a social capital that enables these processes.

In accordance with Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011) Coleman (1988) demonstrates how the situation defines the value of the capital, as it may either enable or disable action for a person, depending on the setting. According to Coleman (1988, 100-101), social capital should be seen as the accessible favours a person has within his or her reach, rather than strictly the networks themselves. Through and within the network, there is a benefit to be gained, which the members can reach only through and because of the connections. Depending on the social organisation of the network, and the position of the individual within the organisation, the actual value of the resource varies. In other words, the value of the possible gains or outcomes is influenced by who the connected people are, and what they can offer each other.

Coleman (1988 102-105) distinguishes between three forms of social capital, the first being based on trustworthiness, i.e. a confidence in the fact that the favours one has made for others actually will be paid back. The structure of the social capital depends on the obligations among the included, the expectations of what could be gained, as well as the trustworthiness and confidence the members feel to have amongst one other. The second form of social capital presented by Coleman (1988, 104) is connected to the information a person may gain through the social capital he or she has access to, i.e. information channels. Whereas Bourdieu (1986, 248) defines social capital as the possible outcomes one may gain thorough connections, Coleman (1988) elaborates on the information channels that enable these outcomes.

The third form of social capital can be linked to norms and sanctions within a community. According to Coleman (1988, 104-105) social capital is enabled by a strong social network, which ensures the trustworthiness among its members. The actions of the members are regulated through norms of efforts and favours, and

especially through norms regulating the value in the efforts being paid back. Coleman (1988, 105) establishes that social capital may not only be used in order for a person to gain something, but also that the social network may restrain a person from achieving or doing something, due to the responsibilities (real or imagined) that person has towards the other people within the network. As a network in some situations may enable the person and help him or her further, a network may in other situations hold the person back.

Coleman (1988 105-106) discusses the matter of social capital in relation to what he calls closure. In order for social capital in the form of norms to work efficiently, there needs to be connections among several of the people involved. When a large share of a network in some way is interconnected, the possibilities of social control increase. Coleman (1988) further discusses social capital in connection to human capital, and how social capital may enable the creation of human capital. Coleman exemplifies by describing the relation between school and family, and especially how a strong social capital with closure among parents may influence positively in the accumulation of human capital, i.e. the achievements within educational instances for the children. According to Coleman, a person may also gain from another person's human capital, through the channels enabled by the social capital between these persons.

Comparing Coleman's usage of social capital with Bourdieu's definition, Bourdieu understands social capital as the "*assets gained through memberships in networks*", whereas Coleman defines the concept as the networks themselves (Portes 1998, 12). Another difference between Coleman and Bourdieu, stressed by Floya Anthias (2007, 791) and Annika Forsander (2002, 57) is the fact that whereas Bourdieu is interested in exposing and explaining (class) inequalities with the result of social capital being used in order to distinct oneself, Coleman (1988) (and later also Putnam 2000) focus on the aspect of community or solidarity in a society, "*the ties that bind*" (Anthias 2007, 791) the people together.

The concept of human capital has later been widely used in migration- and labour market studies, especially in studies of the transition of valued human capital from one location to another. A migrated human capital may create human capital *mismatch*, which appear as lower levels of income, when comparing immigrants

with the majority population (Forsander 2002, 53 building on Chiswick 1978). In this case the human capital of the migrant is not recognised, when his or her educational background, language skills or work life experience is of little value on the labour market of the country of settlement (ex. Friedberg 2000). In the discussion of human capital, economic assimilation is viewed as the main goal, where the migrant is in the similar position regarding level of income in respect to position on the labour market. This is reached when the human capital of immigrants is divided in equal ways for both immigrants and majority population (Chiswick 1978).

The theory of human capital has been criticised for its narrow focus on the individual, thus not being able to explain the structural issues (Forsander 2002, 55-56). Critics argue that the discussion on human capital overrides the structural changes of the labour market (Kajanoja 1998, 37-38) or issues in the recruitment phase (Hiebert 1997, 4-5). The major difference when comparing human capital with cultural capital is however the outcomes of the two kinds of capitals. Whereas human capital is perceived to increase the productivity of the worker resulting in higher income, the cultural capital may enable authority or respect resulting in access to valued vacancies or relations to people in valuable positions (Forsander 2002, 56).

### **3.3.2 The Strength of Weak Ties**

Mark Granovetter (1973) elaborates on networks, connections and gains. In his article *The strength of weak ties*, Granovetter (1973) discusses the possible gains a person can reach through the network of connections he or she has, emphasising on the gains one may reach through bridging weak ties, acquaintances in other words. Granovetter argues that a person is likely to gain or reach certain valuable information through the connections to which he or she is only remotely linked. Information which is shared in closely connected networks is likely to be limited or to be of little extra value for the individuals, as members who are interconnected among each other usually have similar sources of information and thus offer one another little or no 'fresh' knowledge.

However, when a person is in contact with people he or she knows only briefly, the probability of him or her gaining new information is much greater. Through the weak ties, one may gain access to new spheres of networks, which may lead to a benefit for the person. The acquaintances have acquaintances and friends of their own, people who the original person probably does not know personally. Thus, according to Granovetter (1973, 1366), it is the weak ties that constitute the bridges over which the useful information travels.

The connections should not however be too remote, as the value of the information in that case decreases. Granovetter (1973, 1372) compares the information of a vacancy that a person has gained in the fifth hand, with information that he or she would have gained from a newspaper advertisement. In this case, there is no specific value in the fact that the person has gained the information through personal connections, as there have been several impersonalising steps between the source of information and the receiver of it.

### **3.3.3 Social Capital as a Form of Trust**

Robert Putnam (2000, 1995, 1993) represents a differing interpretation of social capital. Putnam is however an important contributor in the discussion, and has with his book *Bowling alone - The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000) succeeded in popularising the use of the concept. Putnam's notion of social capital builds on the idea that social capital is a resource within or for a society rather than the individual. Social capital, civic engagement and democracy are concepts that are closely connected in Putnam's discussion. According to Putnam (1995), a society in which the members are civically active is more likely to be a democratic society, than one in which there is little activity and connectedness among the citizen.

'social capital' refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 1995, 67).

[W]hereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (Putnam 2000, 19).

Social capital is exemplified as the connectedness the individual gains through engagement in organisations. Organisations provide the individual with connections to other members, thus constituting a base for social capital, which on its hand provides a base for trustworthiness and a feeling of belonging within a society. Putnam (1995) thus discusses the influence of declining civic engagement on the modern American society. He argues that the decrease in engagement influences the social capital of the members in a society and thus the whole structure of the community.

One of the reasons stated for this decline is migration, which Putnam defines as the mobility of people. Putnam (1995, 75) perceives mobility of people to have a negative impact on the society, as the relocating individual leaves the social networks and connections in the setting of origin behind, and that the process to establish new ties is a long one, and not fully unproblematic. This thought is later developed and discussed focusing on migration. Putnam (2000) argues that emigration has a negative impact on a person's social capital, as the contacts one has for the most part are left behind. This argument has been criticised by scholars who argue that social capital exists also in transnational forms, and can be used in new ways and across borders also after migration (Anthias 2007, 795; Ryan et al 2008, 675).

#### **3.3.4 Transnational Ties and Transnational Migrants**

The discussion on transnationalism provides a theoretic foothold for Anthias' (2007) critique, as it builds on the idea that it is possible for an individual to belong and be actively involved in several localities simultaneously. According to Steven Vertovec (2009), there are three particularly important terms in the sociological debate on transnationalism. The first theme, social networks, is stressed because of the possibility the perspective gives to distance the discussion from the individual and focus on social patterns on a global level. By focusing on social (transnational) networks, the individual's action or ideas, resources in institutions or connections that are not self-evident, can be studied in a format that also takes changes into account. The second theme, social capital, is stressed as a micro-level addition to the social networks. This addition enables the researcher to pin down the

resources a specific individual may omit, capital that might be gained through the social networks the individual is connected to. The third concept is embeddedness. According to Vertovec (2009, 37) the embeddedness can be summarised into the individual's connection to other individuals, and the connection to the surrounding society. In other words, the transnational relations analysed from both a micro and a macro perspective.

Thomas Faist's (1998, 2000, 195) notion of transnational fields and spaces builds on the idea that currents and networks of migrants create more migration, and that a link between the life in the country of origin and the country of settlement is maintained also after migration. According to Faist (2004, 337) a transnational space is constituted both by the ties, and the substance of the ties, in a setting of two geographical locations. These spaces should be considered as being continuous in the sense that the processes of migration and connectedness goes on also after the individual migrant may have settled in a new location. Faist (2004, 228) stresses that by analysing transnational social spaces, the researcher can gain information about the consequences of migration, processes of incorporation and segregation in the country of immigration. Transnational social spaces are symbolised through institutionalised forms of groups such as kinship groups, diasporas, but also institutions, businesses and NGOs that are active in several locations in different countries.

Faist (2004, 340) argues that a transnational approach in a global context is fruitful when studying the policies on internal dynamics of border crossing, in the case of non-state actors. A transnational perspective enables the researcher to view the migrant in a wider context, as connections to both country of origin and country of settlement are taken into consideration. The transnational migrant is not fixed in one location, but could be exemplified as having one foot in each country. Transnationalism should not be considered as a hindrance to assimilation or integration into the country of settlement.

Thomas Faist (2000, 101) uses social capital in the same sense as Coleman (1988, 105) defines it, i.e. in a trust and expectation of mutual obligations being repaid. Further, he refers to Mark Granovetters (1973) discussion on strong and weak ties and identifies the first kind as an important pathway for information, which may



influence the decision to migrate, whereas the weak ties are constituted of return migrants that may build on the “hype” for the country of destination. Social ties (strong and weak ties), together with symbolic ties constitute social capital. The symbolic ties are perceived bonds, to which shared meanings, memories or expectations are attached. The symbolic ties do not have to be physically connected between the people, but are, with a reference to Benedict Anderson’s book from 1983, imagined communities. Thus Faist (2000, 102) understands social capital as the combination of physical connections and ties, with a value constituted of a shared meaning. These two may result in resources, which are valuable for the person.

Faist combines Bourdieus micro perspective approach and Putnams macro perspective approach of social capital into a meso- level analytical tool.

Social capital are those resources that help people or groups to achieve their goals in ties and the assets inherent in patterned social and symbolic ties that allow actors to cooperate in networks and organizations, serving as a mechanism to integrate groups and symbolic communities (Faist 2000, 102-103).

According to Faist (2000), social capital should be understood in the sense that it is a door opener for individuals lacking desired resources. It is also a collective resource, even though the individual may gain from it. Through social capital, an individual may be connected to networks or organisations, which can result in the groups and networks integrating with the help of the social and symbolic ties. By using social capital, the researcher can study both the characteristics of collaboration within networks and groups, and the means and strategies of the individual (Faist 2000, 115-116).

### **3.3.5 Bonding and Bridging Social Capital – An Elaboration on My Theoretical Choices**

Returning to social capital and the discussion provided by Robert Putnam (2000, 22-23), one of the central aspects of his book is the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. Portes and Landolt (1996) have posed criticism to the fact that social capital also can be restrictive, or become a constraint to an individual’s choices. Social capital can in some cases have its base in actions

excluding others from the resources available (Leonard, 2004, 929). This was not addressed in Putnam's earliest work from 1993, but was later added in 2000 with the two concepts of bonding and bridging social capital. Putnam (2000, 23) refers to Granovetter's (1973) discussion on strong and weak ties, and the similarities between the two contributions are evident. Bonding social capital should be understood as a resource for homogeneous, inward looking groups, which use the capital available in order to reinforce an exclusive identity. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, is defined as an inclusive resource, which can be used for circulation of information and which enable connections to "*external assets*" (Putnam 2000, 22-23).

In comparison, bonding social capital strengthens the "*narrower selves*", whereas bridging social capital "*can generate broader identities and reciprocity*" (Putnam 2000, 23). Because of the strong connection to inward-looking identities, bonding social capital may also create antipathy against non-members. The benefits of a bonding social capital are limited. However, Putnam (2000, 23) underlines that the two categories should be perceived as two forms of social capital which may exist and function in interconnected ways, and that bonding and bridging capital not should be perceived as stated and exclusive definitions of different kinds of social networks.

Madeleine Leonard (2004, 930) understands bridging social capital as Putnam's answer to accumulation of capitals, as it may enable a person to acquire financial or human capital. She also connects Coleman's view of the importance of social capital in the creation of human capital, and ties the two together by pointing to their way of perceiving symbolic and economic capital as equal points of departure for an analysis or discussion. This may lead to the misassumption of perceiving social capital as a compensating factor for a lack of economic or cultural capital, or that the social capital may enable a person to achieve other forms of capitals, in situations where this would otherwise not be the case (Leonard 2004, 930; Ryan et al. 2008, 675). Leonard (2004) further makes a distinction between the theoretical point of departure of Coleman and Putnam from that of Bourdieu, as he uses the economic capital as a starting point. As defined by Bourdieu (1986), the capitals are interchangeable, but a strong economic capital does enable and facilitate the accumulation of both social and cultural capital. In other words, Bourdieu's

strength in relation to Coleman and Putnam is the way he frames the discussion and places his starting point. Anthias states:

[W]hilst Bourdieu's conception links to present day policy discourses around combating disadvantage, the Putnam/Coleman tradition lies with policy discourses which have increasingly turned to social capital as a panacea for the ills of modern society (Anthias 2007, 791).

Portes (2000, 3) also discusses the differences between the angles of the theories presented above, and concludes that the greatest discrepancy is to be found in the points of departure of the theorists. Whereas Coleman and Bourdieu treat social capital as a resource of the individual, Putnam uses the concept as an asset linked to a community or society. As mentioned above, there are similarities between the discussions of Coleman and Putnam in the way they connect social capital to trust and reciprocity. Robert Putnam has however developed the concept into a direction where the individual as an actor has been concealed, resulting in the society playing the main part when elaborating over social capital. Treating social capital as a stock for a community also results in different outcomes. For Putnam, a lot of social capital results in benefits for the whole society, in forms of lower crime rates, better governance and less corruption. This shift is the main reason for me not using Putnam in my analysis. I use social capital defined as a resource for the individual, not the society as a whole.

Louise Ryan (2011, 710) questions the way migration studies often perceives bonding ties as equal to inter-ethnic ties (people like us), and bridging ties as equals to the majority (people unlike us) (ex. Nannestad et al. 2008) when using social capital as framework in discussions on integration and the use of ties. Based on her study, Ryan (2011, 720) instead proposes that the researcher should remain open-minded to what the immigrant him or herself identifies with, and that ethnicity or nationality should not automatically be perceived as an equivalence to a precondition for bonding ties. She has found that Polish migrants in London rather build their social networks on other premises than common nationality.

The main emphasis in this theoretical overview has been placed on the discussion on social capital. This has been a conscious choice, as I through the discussion and on the theorists have defined and positioned my own theoretical choices. Through my choice of definition of social capital, I simultaneously choose the context within

which it is discussed i.e. the Bourdieuvan definitions of field, economic- social- and cultural capitals.

### **3.4 The Question of Mobilisability of Resources**

Floya Anthias (2007) takes the discussion of social capital and the preconditions of a valuable social capital further in her paper *Ethnic ties: social capital and the question of mobilisability*. Anthias argues that social capital should be understood and limited to the mobilisable social ties and networks of an actor, and anchors her discussion in the setting of ethnic groups. She claims that networks which a person belongs to, but which he or she cannot mobilise into a source of value, should not be defined or understood as social capital. Social capital also needs to be addressed in relation to its context. This can be done through a consideration of the influence of, for example, class and gender.

Anthias (2007, 793) links her contribution to previous discussions about economic sociology. She builds on Bourdieu's understanding of the interrelations and translatabilities of the different capitals, but proposes a shift to a discussion of mobilisability of capitals, instead of talking about translatability of different capitals. Anthias suggests a division between resources, which can exist both in physical and abstract forms, i.e. money and ties and networks, and the ability to mobilise these resources into symbolic capital.

Ties and networks that cannot be enabled for purposes of storeability [...] or investment and cannot be transferred effectively do not constitute 'social capital', although they may be 'resources' in their own right (Anthias 2007, 793).

The mobilisability of a person's resources into social capital can happen in two contrasting ways, through exclusion and through infringement, both tied to the class structures in a society (Anthias 2007, 793-794). Groups use different strategies of mobilising social capital, depending on their position in the society, i.e. if they are in a power position or not. The choice of strategy should not only be understood in the sense of ethnic groups and socioeconomic position, but can also be applied to other structuring factors, such as gender. Anthias (2007) understanding of mobilisability of social capital is linked to Bourdieu's discussion on the logic and struggles of the field (ex. Bourdieu 1997, 1977; Bourdieu and

Johnson 1993). Bourdieu elaborates on holders of dominating and dominated positions on fields and the struggles among these, whereas Anthias (2007) focus on the strategies of these categories.

By focusing on only mobilisable ties as social capital, the researcher is able to narrow the concept and make the use of it more explicit. From this point of view, ethnic ties can constitute available resources, but only under the right preconditions can they be mobilised into valuable social capital. As an example Anthias (2007, 795) uses migrant women, who may have a broad network of connections to co-migrants, but who are not necessarily capable of using these connections to improve their position or to gain something in a concrete sense, due to gender and power structures.

Anthias (2007) proceeds by defining ethnic ties as social capital, and focuses on the role of these ties in small businesses. This line of thought of social capital in relation to immigrant businesses is common among scholars as several studies of migrants, the labour market, and social capital have been conducted (cf. Wahlbeck 2013b; Katila and Wahlbeck 2012). Anthias underlines the importance of acknowledging the wider picture of the encompassing society, for example the value of the ethnic ties or bonds depends on the positioning in the society. Political and societal incidents should also be taken into consideration, as the general climate in the society may have a strong influence on the possibilities of certain groups of immigrants.

Ryan (2011) and Ryan and Mulholland (2014) point out that social networks often change over time, and that ties and connections within ethnic groups should not be taken for granted. As Michael Eve (2010, 1245) states, migrant networks should be studied sociologically with the aim of explaining how they might develop or change over time and how these changes also might influence the ways in which the migrant networks constitute resources.

Another point stressed by Anthias (2007) is the dilemma of talking about ethnic groups as entities in which the individuals act according to their ethnic identity. This aspect is especially relevant for this thesis, as the Swedish immigrants that live in the capital area rarely consider themselves as being members of a “Swedish community” in Finland. Anthias (2007, 797) state that factors such as economic

class, gender and age, but also whether one is a “‘good’ ethnic subject” influences how an actor is valued. Thus, she argues, gender and power structures need to be taken into consideration if ethnic ties are to be considered as a form of social capital. The outcomes of an ethnic social capital tie back to the mobilisability of the resources, as a person may have a good base to gain access to an ethnically defined labour market, where he or she can use connections to, for example, start up a small business. However, an ethnically based social capital may not prove to be mobilisable if the person aims to access the open labour market, where he or she may need different kind of information or connections.

Ryan et al. (2008, 682-683) have in their research of newly arrived polish migrants in London found differences in how the Polish migrants managed to on the one hand gain access to social networks, and on the other hand how these networks were constituted, i.e. who belonged to them. The researchers found that professionals, in comparison to other migrants, had both personal and professional ties to a wider group of people and that their networks contained both British citizens as well as others. The interviewed had in several cases tied the social networks through the working- or professional community. Ryan et al. (2008, 684) interpret this as that both the economic and cultural capitals enabled these interviewed to “*facilitate wider networking and so enhance access to support and resources*”.

In similar ways as Anthias (2007) define social networks as being mobilisable, Umut Erel (2010, 649) discusses how migrants redefine and recreate their cultural capital in the country of settlement. Erel states that researchers should consider how migrants not only carry resources from one country to another, but actively reformulate the migrated assets and create new resources in the country of settlement. This process is enabled by a transnational space (Faist 2000). Migrants also “*engage in creating mechanisms of validation for their cultural capital*” (Erel 2010, 649) by, for example creating logics of distinction towards co-ethnics.

Anthias (2007) focus on ethnic labour markets and the mobilisation possibilities of the connections within migrant groups active on the labour market. One factor, which deserves a mentioning, is the gender aspect, and especially in relation to power relations within the family. Many labour markets are gendered (Anthias

2007 799- 800), and depending on that, the resources available to a person or family are mediated through either the man or the woman. Gender roles and norms also play a role on whether connections can be used or not. Anthias (2007, 800-801) underline the need to take the setting, ascribed meaning and hierarchical position of groups or persons into consideration when perceiving ethnic resources or relations as social capital.

### **3.5 Research Questions**

The group of Swedish citizens differs in many senses from the larger category of immigrants in Finland. The Finnish and Swedish societies have a closely linked history (Korkiasaari and Tarkialinen 2000), which have resulted, for example, in agreements that facilitate migration. Furthermore, the Swedish immigrants speak one of the official national languages in Finland. Due to these factors, the Swedish immigrants could be perceived to have a “head start” in comparison to other immigrant groups (Anthias 2007, 797). Statistics also show a high employment rate for the studied group (Statistics Finland 2012c). The cultural capital of the Swedish citizens, their language skills, is an officially acknowledged form of capital in the Finnish society and in the labour market in the Helsinki region. The question is yet how far they can get by using their migrated capital, whether it is enough, or if something else might be needed for gaining access to the local labour market.

As mentioned previously, several aspects influence a person’s position on the labour market. In combination, previous working experience, education, language skills and social networks influence the possibilities one has in improving the position. The different forms of capital are interconnected and they have an effect of positive re-enforcement on one another (Forsander 2013, 235; Bourdieu 1986). Thus, if a person with immigrant background has wide-ranging and strong ties to the majority population, he or she is also likely to strengthen his or her language skills as a result of the social interaction. In the best case the improved language skills together with a strong social network among the Finnish population may enable the person with immigrant background to achieve better paid and perhaps permanent employment. It is also due to this interconnectedness of capitals that it

is difficult to draw definite conclusions of the impact of the specific capitals outside their interconnected context.

Ahmad (2010, 86-89) continues along the same line, and concludes that the main reasons for immigrants lacking employment seems to be limitations in the social network of the immigrant, rather than the actual content of the skills he or she embodies. He states that a lack of human capital influences the possibilities of employment *only* if there are limitations in the social capital of the immigrant.

In this thesis I thus intend to focus on the following questions;

1. What kind of resources does the Swedish migrants on the labour market in Helsinki possess recently after migration, and
2. Are these resources acknowledged and valued on the field, the local labour market setting – Do they constitute symbolic capital?
3. How do the Swedish migrants in Helsinki mobilise symbolic capital when seeking employment, and
4. (How) do they accumulate valid capitals?

In the context of the above-mentioned sociological debate, this study strives to define and describe the local labour market in Helsinki from a new perspective. By focusing on the resources of Swedish citizens on the labour market in Helsinki, it is possible to gain information of the prevailing rules on the field.

## **4 Methodology**

### **4.1 Choice of Method**

There are usually two ways of studying labour market integration of immigrants. The first way is to approach the matter from a statistical or quantitative viewpoint in order to gain a general overview of the situation, perhaps for a specific period of time. After the turn of the century, statistical overviews of the labour market integration of both specific groups of immigrants (ex. Jaakkola and Reuter 2007 cf. Saarela and Rooth 2006) and the general positioning of immigrants (ex. Joronen 2007; Haapakorpi 2004) on the Finnish labour markets have been conducted. Other scholars have chosen to take a qualitative approach, focusing on one or a few



specific groups, giving voice to individuals and studying their experiences (ex. Cederberg 2010; Erel 2010; Wahlbeck 2007; Pöllänen 2007; Harakkamäki 2007). It is also common to combine the two methods and thus provide the reader with a wide insight on the matter. Both approaches, qualitative and quantitative, bring valuable information to the table (Flyvbjerg 2004, 402).

Due to my research topic and questions I find a qualitative approach to be the most fruitful. By choosing a qualitative method, the researcher can through the voices of the interviewed find underlying reasons and patterns for the social phenomena he or she is researching (Brannen 2004). For this thesis I have chosen to study a specific group, the Swedish immigrants in Helsinki, and their pathways to employment through a qualitative, micro level perspective. The qualitative method is suitable for this study as it gives space for the informants own interpretations and definitions of the situation.

The aim is to gain understanding of the experiences of a specific group, thus the study is conducted as a case study. When conducting a case study, the researcher focuses on a specific and defined group. Based on statements of members of the group, the researcher can produce detailed knowledge which builds on the interviewees' understanding of the phenomenon (Flyvbjerg 2004, 391). It is thus possible to, based on the voices of a few, find tendencies about the researched topic, even though the aim is not to produce generalizable truths. I use statistical data as background information, mostly in a descriptive sense. My methodological approach enables me to find answers to the individuals understanding of symbolic capital, thus does it also give insight of how it operates.

## **4.2 The Interviewees**

In order to keep the data coherent, rather strict selection criteria for the choice of informants were predefined. Because of the previous migration flows between Finland and Sweden, it has been important to exclude those Swedish citizens who have an existing social network in Finland through kin from before migration (Wahlbeck 2011). I have chosen to focus on the labour market in the capital area, as a relatively large share of the Swedish citizens that fit my selection criteria

reside in the area (p. 10 in the thesis). All interviews were conducted in Swedish, the first language of both the interviewer and the interviewed.

The selection criteria for the interviewees have been based on the following; the interviewees should be adult Swedish citizens with Swedish as their official first language. They should not have dual Finnish-Swedish citizenship and should be born outside of Finland. The parents of the informants should not have Finnish citizenship. The interviewees should reside permanently in Finland and currently work in the capital area. The residential time in Finland should not exceed seven years, nor should it be less than one year.

All in all I conducted eleven interviews, and ten of these are used in the analysis, as the first interview was conducted as a pilot study. Four interviewees are female and six male. An additional four interviews that fit my selection criteria conducted by Östen Wahlbeck are also added to the analysis, out of which three interviewees are female and one is male. The interviews P1, P2, P5 and P9 are conducted by Östen Wahlbeck, and the interviews P44-P53 are conducted by me. In order to guarantee the anonymity of the informants, I have chosen to use two labels for one of the informants, thus there are also quotations labelled P54.

I have chosen to interview both males and females, in order to get an as broad overview of the studied group as possible. Floya Anthias (2007, 800) points out that gender may be an influencing factor of how social capital might be mobilised on the labour market, especially if the social capital is ethnically bound. (Ethnic) labour markets may also be gendered, as for example Wahlbeck (2010, 2007) has shown in his study of kebab-entrepreneurs in Finland. Based on the interviews, gender however does not seem to influence how symbolic capital is mobilised in this specific setting. For example, male and female Finnish partners constitute resources in similar ways, both female and male interviewees work in the same sectors, and have gained employment that corresponds to their backgrounds to the same extent. As I use Bourdieu's (1986) definition of symbolic capital, class is an aspect which could have been discussed in more detail in the interviews. In its current state, the material does not provide enough information to take class into consideration as an influencing factor of how symbolic capital may be mobilised,

and the material does not seem to represent gender imbalances among the interviewed.

My focus has been on newly arrived migrants and their stories of gaining access to the labour market in a new country of settlement, a choice made based on previous research (Forsander 2013; Ahmad 2005; Valtonen 2001). I had to revise my initial plan of an upper limit of 5 years spent in Finland to 7 years spent in Finland as I found it difficult to find especially female, newly arrived Swedish migrants (cf. Wahlbeck 2013a, 13). The reason for the restriction in time spent in Finland is on the one hand that previous studies have shown that networks are of most importance during a time recently after migration, when the person might not yet be fully integrated to the society in the country of settlement and might have limited language skills or work life experience (Forsander 2013, 234). Ahmad (2005, 80) notes, that regardless of educational level, people relied most on their networks in trying to gain employment within one year after migration, after which the impact decreased with time. On the other hand, there are economic and political changes that have taken place during the last 10 years. Arriving and applying for jobs as a migrant in 2002 might have been considerably different compared to the situation today.

However, the fact that I did interview people who also had lived in Finland for several years gave me a deeper understanding of the processes and aspects of the role of symbolic capital for the interviewed. In this way, I could identify some ways in which the interviewed had achieved locally anchored symbolic capital and how this had been valued on the labour market. These people could in some cases compare their experiences as newly migrated applicants with their experiences as more established applicants in the Finnish society.

The interviewed were first contacted with a research letter sent either over e-mail or Facebook private message. I knew about a few possible candidates to start with, some through personal contacts and some through my supervisor. Out of all contacted, three people did not answer the invitation and one did not fit the selection criteria. The initial plan was to use the snowball method when finding possible interviewees. The method builds on the networks of the interviewed, as the researcher asks the interviewed of information on further possible candidates.

The strength of the snowball-method lay in the interviewees' networks, through which the researcher can come in contact with people he or she would otherwise not know about (Dahmström 2000, 196). The negative aspect of the snowball method is that the researcher might come into contact only with similar kinds of people and that the sample thus gets angled.

What surprised me was however the lack of contacts to further Swedish migrants in the capital area among the interviewed. The interviewed usually knew a restricted amount of newly arrived Swedish citizens residing in Finland and only few of these fit my criteria. Thus a broad variety of channels were used to find possible interviewees, a fact that in my opinion has made the data varying and rich. Approximately a third of the interviewed were contacted through the snowball method, the rest were found through my own and Östen Wahlbeck's social network.

### **4.3 The Semi Structured Interview and the Interview-process**

I have gathered the material for the thesis through in-depth interviews that are between 50 and 120 minutes long, conducted during a period from June 2012 to November 2012. I am interested in gaining insight in the subjective, personal experiences and perceptions of the everyday life of the newly arrived Swedish citizens in the Helsinki area. Conducting interviews is a suitable method for gaining in-depth information of a specific topic, through the told experiences of the informants. The semi-structured interview method allows for the researcher to structure the interview, but does also leave room for the interviewed to influence the discussion and topic (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2006, 47). The interviewed is given an active and creative role in the process of producing knowledge. The semi-structured interview is also a suitable method for collecting the data regarding my choice of analysis method. Conducting semi-structured interviews is one of the most common methods used when using grounded theory in the analysis (Day 2004, 80; see also Chapter 4.5 in this thesis).

An elaborate interview-guide was used during the interviews, and can be found in the appendix section. The questions were framed to respond to the theoretical

framework, dealing with themes such as social networks, education, and experiences of gaining access to, and being active on the labour market in the capital area. I developed the guide in stages and through discussion with my supervisor.

Due to the fact that I have had insight in both the interview guide of Östen Wahlbeck, as well as the collected data for the project, I was able to adjust my interview guide according to the initial results of his interviews. In the guide there are also questions that are angled to correspond to Wahlbeck's research topic. The material of the research project has undoubtedly given me valuable background information on a general level which has contributed to my understanding about the topic and enabled the process of writing this thesis.

In all the interviews I have focused on certain topics and themes, but adjusted the exact phrasing and order of the questions according to the situation and interviewee, a fact stressed by Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, 75). I have striven for a flowing conversation and comfortable atmosphere (ex. Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2006, 103) and for example left out questions that have already been touched upon or answered in connection to previous questions. Some questions were in some cases also impossible for the interviewed to answer, if for example the interviewed had only had one job in Finland, and the question would have been about transfers between different workplaces in Finland.

Saturation defines the stage in the research process when answers start to reappear, and some generalisations regarding the data can be made (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, 87-90; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 62) suggest that the researcher should view the material with the theoretical framework in mind in order to find the point of saturation. The researcher could consider to have collected enough data when the answers no longer bring new insights on or distinctions of the matter researched (Dey 2008, 80-81; Eskola and Suoranta 1998). The knowledge I gained when working with Östen Wahlbecks interviews made the decision of when to stop collecting my own material easier. Due to the fact that I had transcribed and worked with several interviews at the time when I conducted my own, I recognised the answers that reoccurred most often. I believe it has been a fruitful decision to limit my data to the amount I have

today. Answers started reappearing in the interviews, and the amount of data is still manageable.

Both the interviewer's questions and the interviewee's answers have been transcribed, also if the answer is only a nod or a hum (Ruusuvuori 2010, 425). The importance of transcribing all utterances is based on the influence of the interviewer and the ways of expression used. A detailed transcription enables the researcher to examine his or her influence on the answers and conversation, thus providing to a less biased analysis (Nikander 2010, 434). Even though I have striven to position and express myself as neutrally as possible, I acknowledge the fact that I have had an influence on the interviews, not only in the sense that I have chosen my research questions, but also in the way I have expressed myself in the interview situation. The interviews were transcribed as directly after the interview as possible. Transcribing the interviews does not only make the data more accessible, but also gives the researcher a good insight in the material (Nikander 2010, 433).

As the interviews are conducted in Swedish, I have translated all the quotations used in the analysis into English. Pirjo Nikander (2010, 345) discusses validity in relation to translations and point to the fact that translating the material leads to a situation in which the researcher has to conduct double interpretation. The first interpretation takes place when the material is being transcribed from spoken language into written text, and the second interpretation when the Swedish text is translated into English. I have actively striven to keep the translated quotations as close to the originals as possible, both regarding the linguistic aspect such as choice of words, and the content aspect regarding the meaning of the quotation, throughout the process of translation. I have also chosen to list all quotations in their original form in the appendix section of the thesis.

#### **4.4 Research Ethics**

Due to the fact that the topics of discussion in the interviews have concerned the lives and experiences of the interviewed, my interpretation is that the interviewed have not perceived the matters to be especially sensitive. The interviewed have

shared their thoughts and experiences openly. Nevertheless have they given their answers and thoughts in a research setting, a fact that is of most importance. Thus it is my responsibility to handle the material in an appropriate way. Throughout the study, I have actively worked in order to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewed. Together with a relaxed atmosphere, a trustworthy appearance of the researcher is important in the interview situation (Ruusuvuori and Tiittula 2009, 41; Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2006, 98). In the beginning of each interview I have informed the interviewed of the aim of my study, as well as the circumstances that the answers are given within. None of the interviewees opposed to me recording the interview. All information is handled confidentially and the anonymity of the interviewees is guaranteed throughout the process.

Arja Kuula (2006, 112) discusses the process of anonymising the material, and stresses the fact that the researcher has to make justified choices regarding what to conceal. The segments which contain information that could expose the identity of the interviewed have been cut out of the filed text- and audio files, as well as the quotations used in the analysis. I have chosen to delete all details about names, home areas, workplaces and in some cases background information about the interviewed. I have however chosen to state the sectors in which the interviewed are active, as the preconditions of gaining employment may differ markedly between the sectors. In most cases this has worked well, except in a few cases where the sector is very narrow or specific. In these cases I have chosen to anonymise the information. Regarding the sex of the interviewed I have not explicitly defined the gender behind the quotations, but neither concealed it unless I have found specific reason, i.e. that the gender could expose the identity of the interviewed.

The interviewed have been aware of the fact that the interviews will be used both for this thesis and by Östen Wahlbeck, and that both the text files and the audio files will be filed in the archive of SLS in an anonymised form. Except the filed copies of the transcripts and audio files, all documents will be destroyed after the thesis is finished. The archived documents are under a 20-year embargo in the SLS archive, and only after that will they be publicly available. All interviewed have in the beginning of the interview been informed both of the opportunity of leaving questions unanswered or interrupting the interview, as well as the facts regarding

the files being archived. All interviews were completed and all interviewed gave their consent to archive the anonymised interviews.

#### **4.5 Analysis Method**

All interviews in the research project are analysed with the help of the computer programme Atlas ti.6. The programme is developed by Tomas Muhr and follows a grounded theory perspective (Atlasti [no date]). Grounded theory was first developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, who laid the base for the methodological branch in 1967. Grounded theory was developed as a response to the current methodological ideologies, with the basic idea of being an inductive method through which theory is generated based on the empirical. The analysis of the data begins with specific and descriptive codes, which at a later stage are linked into broader concepts or categories. The concepts are grouped into larger branches, and in the ideal case, a theory is developed. According to Guvå and Hylander (2003) the aim when using grounded theory in analysis is necessarily not to organise the data collected, but to develop ideas or patterns based on the data. Through a grounded theory perspective the researcher can grasp the complexity of the data and thus gain deeper understanding, than if the focus would be on defining causal connections (Guvå and Hylander 2003, 5). In grounded theory, new models are developed as new knowledge is exposed. The aim is not to develop fixed or static models, but to form the explanations and description of, for example, social life.

Clean inductive analysis is however next to impossible to perform, due to the inevitable background knowledge of the researcher that influences the coding and analysis (Luomanen 2010, 369). It is impossible to “turn off” what an individual knows, since the way a researcher handles the material already is influenced by his or hers preconceived thoughts. Objective analysis where the only voice heard is the one of the data is extremely hard, if not impossible to do (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009).

Due to the fact that I on the one hand use a program based on grounded theory in my analysis, but on the other hand have a vision on the use of theory in my thesis, I



use a mixture of inductive and deductive methodology in my analysis. Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009) introduce the *theory guided* (teoriaohjaava, S.F. transl.) analysis, which is based on an inductive method, but still allows for the theoretic background to guide the analysis. When conducting theory guided analysis the researcher can use a theoretical framework as a structuring tool in the analysis, but still avoid forcing the theory on the data. The ideal result would be to re-create the theory and develop new models of analysis.

The coding frame was created inductively, in order to allow the data to speak for itself as much as possible. The aim of coding in grounded theory is to conceptualise the main features of the material. The process began already in the transcribing-phase, during which I identified the topics that occurred in the interviews. I developed the initial coding frame by reading and rereading my interviews, and listing the occurring topics. I chose to code the research material in an early stage, before I had written too much of the thesis.

On the one hand I had prepared myself by reading a lot, but at the coding stage my knowledge was still not as structured as it is now. I believe this enabled me to code more openly. The coding frame mirrors the interview guide in the sense that the codes, in a descriptive and explicit way define the answers of the interview guide. The structure of the frame is thus also influenced by the theoretical background, even though the codes themselves were created based on the answers. A theoretically structured coding frame facilitates the work for the researcher, making the paths of thought pinned down and explicit. In other words, the coding frame is comparable to a skeleton of the analysis, the base upon which the data and theory are added and combined, creating a meaningful whole (Ruusuvuori et al. 2010, 25).

As mentioned earlier, the computer programme of Atlas.ti was used to code the material. The aim of coding is to fragment the data into usable blocks, making the analysis easier. In the ideal scenario, the coding frame is explicit enough to cover the whole dataset, structuring everything into its respective category. The biggest benefit of coding is that the fragmentation allows the researcher to grasp only a certain topic at the time. Coding is a long and living process, where the material is coded and recoded over time. There is no predefined stage defining when the

coding is complete, leaving it to the researcher to draw the line at some point. It may easily happen that the material is divided endlessly, and that the researcher drowns in the codes and feels that he or she has lost the connection to the actual data (Jolanki and Karhunen 2010; Kelle 2004). The initial coding was made already at the end of 2012, after which the interviews were recoded twice in August 2013. Later in the analysis process, I have realised that I could have coded differently and that I did not have a good code to illustrate some of the issues discussed in the analysis. I however chose not to recode the data at that stage, but went through the material manually instead. I decided not to recode the data a fourth time as the issues that occurred were few and relatively small.

According to Kelle (2004, 544), one of the main issues in relation to computer assisted coding and analysis is the dilemma of systematically working with the data, but still keeping an open mind to the data and its variety. The researcher needs to acknowledge his or her choices, keep an open mind to the data and anchor the argumentation in the theoretical framework (Jolanki and Karhunen 2010, 407). I however found that the computer assisted coding explicitly has enabled me to keep an open mind to the data. Due to the fact that the data was coded electronically, I was able to both recode and “play” with it by combining different codes and scoping out the material which was coded with the wanted set of codes. This enabled me to find new aspects and gain a deeper understanding of the matters studied, things that I might not have realised if the coding had been conducted manually.

I chose to work with Atlas ti. in the initial stage of the analysis, but created the larger families and categories which are discussed in the following chapters manually. The initial codes were in the second stage grouped together to larger categories, following the logic of the method, representing different angles of the topics analysed. As Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, 90-99) state, the analysis is constituted of several stages, where the researcher begins by fragmenting the data, i.e. coding, later conceptualises the codes into larger categories, i.e. structures, and in the final stage reassembles the data into a meaningful whole. The themes I have chosen to use as categories are: education, work life experience, migration, social networks in Finland, ties to Sweden, strategies for gaining employment, issues and problems, and definitions of the labour market.

## **5 Migrated Assets and Social Ties of the Interviewed**

Forms of symbolic capitals are interrelated to one another, and accumulation of one form of capital usually has a positive impact also on the other forms (Forsander 2013, 235; Bourdieu 1986). With a strong connection to the majority population with lots of links and contacts, the probability for a person to also develop his or her language skills or cultural knowledge increases, and thus do they also enable integration and an improved position in the society or labour market, on the local field (Cederberg 2012; Ryan 2011; Ahmad 2005; Forsander 2002, 203).

In this study, the group in focus has only spent up to seven years in Finland. The starting point for the analysis is that those who have migrated recently are likely to possess a limited amount of locally anchored and achieved symbolic capital, which is of value in the process of gaining access to the local labour market (Ahmad 2010; Linnanmäki-Koskela 2010; Forsander 2002, 205; Haapakorpi 1994; cf. Anthias 2007). Thus the analysis is based on the assumption that symbolic capital is acknowledged and valued in a situation of employment (Sutela 2005; Forsander 2002, 2013).

The interest lies in defining the explicit forms of capital that are of actual value for the applicants, the Swedish migrants in Helsinki. What are the resources used when a person lacks locally achieved education or working skills, proficient language skills in Finnish, or contacts and ties to the majority population and thus the local labour market? Can the person use resources he or she brings with him or her through migration, or does the assets achieved in another society remain unrecognised and of no value?

In the previous chapters I have presented the reader with different sociologists' contributions to the discussion on symbolic- and especially social capital. The aim has been to give a comprehensive overview of the definitions so that my theoretical choices are understood in their context. Social capital is understood as acknowledged resources available through the connections the interviewed have (Bourdieu 1986, 248), in the same sense as Forsander (2002, 203) use the concept in her doctoral thesis. These resources should be tied to the labour market in

Helsinki, and they should in some sense enable the interviewed to improve his or her position on the field. As Forsander (2002, 203) also states, the aim is primarily to focus on the outcome of the contacts, how different connections may influence the positioning on the labour market of the immigrant, rather than merely the quantity of these contacts.

Cultural capital is defined in its three forms, even though only two are discussed in detail: as the educational background or the language skills that the interviewed have, *institutionalised cultural capital*, and as the competence in “correct behaviour” i.e. behaviour that is valued on the local labour market, *embodied cultural capital* of the interviewed. Cultural capital in its *objectified form*, i.e. concrete symbols for a valued position on a field, has been given a limited amount of attention, as it in its original definition is closely tied to cultural sociology and class struggles. Economic capital is discussed in relation to the other forms of capital, in the sense that economic capital may enable the Swedish citizens to accumulate the other forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Furthermore, I intend to use Floya Anthias’ definition on mobilisability of capitals (2007), which builds on the logic that resources only constitute symbolic capital in a context where they are recognised and valued. In other words, resources do not constitute symbolic capital per se, but do so only in a context where a value is attached to them and where they can be used in a strive for a better position on the field. Contacts constitute social capital in the situations where the resources available through a network are valued in the larger context, on the field. The same applies for cultural capital; an educational degree should only be defined as institutionalised cultural capital if it is valued and recognised on the field.

## **5.1 Resources Achieved Prior to Migration**

Before going into further detail on valued capitals and the labour market in the Helsinki-region, it is relevant to present the assets that the Swedish migrants perceive to have with them at the time after migration. Only after these assets have been identified, is it possible to determine whether any of the resources the Swedish migrants possess are of value when in search for employment in Helsinki,

and can be defined as symbolic capital on the field. In the following section I will thus introduce the reader to background information about the interviewed through a brief overview of the educational- and work life experiences of the Swedish citizens.

### **5.1.1 Educational Background of the Interviewed**

The interviewees all have different educational backgrounds. A bit more than half of the group can be defined as highly skilled, with a background in higher education. The majority of the highly skilled migrants had at the time of migration either graduated from a university and thus received a master's degree (or in two cases a bachelor's degree), or were just about to finish, receiving their educational degree shortly after the time of migration. Some of the interviewed had at the time of the interview not yet finished their education, due to varying reasons. In one case, the interviewed had started working before completing the final thesis and since made a career in Sweden, and had thus not found any specific reason for finishing the studies.

In a few cases the interviewee had achieved a secondary educational degree at the time of migration. This group can roughly be divided in two, those who continued their studies in Finland and those who did not. Among the interviewed there were two persons who began their higher education directly after the time of migration to Finland. Within the second category there was one interviewed who had gained a double educational degree from a vocational school, and one who had participated in a one-year course in a *folkhögskola* after graduating from the gymnasium.

In the selection criteria for this thesis, I chose not to specify the educational degree of the interviewed. On the one hand it could have been fruitful to focus on a single educational category, as this would have led to a more specifically defined group, about which I could have drawn more specific conclusions. However, the group of Swedish citizens who arrive in Finland today does constitute a diverse group. Furthermore, the main focus of this study is on the paths to employment and the use of resources in this process, in other words *how* the Swedish citizens gain employment. *What kind* of employment they gain is merely used as a tool in the

process of explaining the pathways to employment of the interviewed. Educational degrees may be one of the used resources in this process, but does not constitute the starting point for the analysis.

### **5.1.2 Work Experience Prior to Migration**

All of the interviewed had work experience from before moving to Finland, both from Sweden as well as other countries. The interviewed had work experience from within a wide range of sectors, reaching from manual low-skill tasks to distinct high-skill undertakings. What is general concerning the work experience achieved prior to migration to Finland is however that the tasks generally seems to have followed the direction from low-skill assignments to more demanding tasks as the experience of the interviewed increased.

In accordance with previous research (Forsander 2013, 2002; Ahmad 2010, see also Friedberg 2000) the interviews show that the position of the worker improved as he or she gained experience or educational qualifications. The typical work-life path started with a manual job, as a salesperson in a grocery-store, as a personal assistant or as a nurse in elderly care. Previous research (Forsander 2002, 44; Forsander and Alitolppa-Niitamo 2000; Hagan 1998) define these as entry-level jobs, low-skill occupations which may serve as gateways to employment for people outside the workforce, usually young people or migrants who may lack required skills and experience for more demanding positions.

The interviewees that had attained their educational degree before migration had all also gained employment within that same sector or field in the country of residence prior to migration. An educational degree might not however in all fields be a precondition for gaining employment, as the following quotation illustrates:

SF: Have they led to a degree, these [...] studies?

P51: Noo, I got a permanent job before I graduated. [...] Everything else, I have like completed all the credits, but it is that last small ten-credit-essay that I lack. Perhaps one day... But [the job] is a craftsmanship so, once you get a permanent job, it sort of rolls on.<sup>1</sup>

In this case, the precondition for gaining access to the field was not linked to institutionalised cultural capital in the form of an educational degree, but as the

interviewee states; a competence in craftsmanship i.e. embodied cultural capital, or a general competence. In this case, the interviewed had gained access to the labour market through an internship and with the help of contacts, and thus did not particularly need the educational degree for gaining access to the vacancies. The interviewed had already “a foot inside” and had developed the valued personal skills over time. Several others also mentioned their education as a way of gaining employment, in the sense of internships arranged in cooperation between the school and various workplaces. During the initial contact with the workplace, the interviewees got acquainted with the workplace and were reappointed at later stages. These above mentioned strategies of gaining employment mirror the strategies used by some also in Finland.

## **5.2 Reasons for Migration**

P48: [I] still remember their reaction [...] But, why would you move to Finland? I remember that question – why would you move to Finland. Like, what would you do there? And I don't know if she thought that like, are you stupid moving to Finland, or like, what is the reason for you moving to Finland.<sup>2</sup>

Reasons for migration are relevant to discuss as the premises on which the migrants arrive, influence the life after migration and the pathways to integration to different sectors of life (Säävälä 2013; Kyhä 2011, 77; Forsander 2002, 42, 108). Moving due to a partner gives the migrant different premises for life after migration, than for example, moving due to a working contract.

In 2012, Finland was the fifth most common country of destination regarding emigration from Sweden, preceded by Norway, Denmark, the UK and Northern Ireland, and the USA (Statistics Sweden 2013). Still, many of the interviewees had faced people who did not understand, or questioned their decision to migrate from Sweden to Finland. The general impression among the interviewees was that people do not move from Sweden to Finland very often (cf. Helander 1999, 13). Several of the interviewed underlined their lack of previous knowledge about Finland before migrating to Finland. Many also mentioned a general lack of knowledge about Finland in Sweden, which also Helander (2004, 208) has noted.

P53: Before I met my wife I guess I was quite, unaware like most Swedes are. About Finland.<sup>3</sup>

P44: Everybody travels to Thailand to find their inner souls at some party-moon island, but you can actually also travel just a bit [to Finland].<sup>4</sup>

The main reason for migrating from Sweden to Finland that appeared in the interviews was a Finnish partner (cf. Wahlbeck 2013a, 11). The other identifiable category was the group of people who moved to Finland in an adventurous spirit, two people who both came for employment. In one case the contract was a *Nordjobb*-vacancy, a short term contract arranged by a Nordic organisation. In the other case the person had applied to become an au-pair, and the country of destination happened to be Finland by chance. Out of the interviewed, all but two had decided to move to Finland due to a Finnish partner.

P47: Yes, it was, I moved here because of love, I guess that's the most common reason.<sup>5</sup>

P1: You could say that [the Finnish partner] is the main reason for me moving here.<sup>6</sup>

In most cases the couples had met either in Sweden or elsewhere abroad, a while before deciding to move to Finland. The usual pattern of migration was that the couple lived outside of Finland for a few years, and decided to move to Helsinki after some time. Usually the initiative came from the Finnish partner, who wanted to move back to Finland (see also Wahlbeck 2013a).

P52: We met ten years ago, in [European country] out of all places actually. [...] Then I moved to [other European country] and he moved with me. [...] Yes so we lived there for six years, and then we decided to move either to Sweden or Finland, and so we chose Finland.<sup>7</sup>

The other occurring pattern of migration was that the couple had met in Finland as the interviewed had visited Finland, and later decided to move to be together with the partner.

P52: I met my wife by luck here [in Helsinki], and so we just met and, then a year later I moved here. [...] I came along [on a trip] only because I had friends who participated [in the trip], so then we [partner and interviewed] met and it was totally a coincidence.<sup>8</sup>



The discussed reasons for migration shed light on the group of Swedish citizens in Helsinki. The common denominators concerning the interviewed are not found in the educational or work life background of the interviewed, as I have shown in Chapters 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. Instead, in most cases the interviewees have their Finnish partners as reason for migration in common (Wahlbeck 2013a, 12). The interviewed are all in similar life situations, the age span is from 25 to 35 years, only a few had children at the time of the interview, and all were still building on their careers.

### **5.3 Social Ties To and Within the Finnish Society**

#### **5.3.1 Partner**

Several researchers have studied the role of a partner in the integration process of immigrants (Säävälä 2013; Wahlbeck 2013a; Reuter and Jaakkola 2005; Forsander 2002). The partner may in the best case provide a link between the migrant and the encompassing society. He or she can be an important source of resources and thus provide the migrant with possibilities to access, for example, social capital (Reuter and Jaakkola 2005).

P49: It was through my wife, [...] she has told [me] what there is, like different ways of getting into the society here.<sup>9</sup>

In many cases the partner was the first and only contact the interviewed had to Finland before moving. Thus the partner became an important source of information about the local society, especially at the time shortly after migration when the interviewed had not yet established ties to the society of his or her own (cf. Eve 2010). The partners constitute the initial strong ties to the Finnish society for the Swedish citizens (cf. Granovetter 1973).

P9: Each year that passes, you build on your network through various channels. But in the beginning I was very very strongly [connected] through my husband.<sup>10</sup>

Ryan and Mulholland (2014, 256) found in their study of highly skilled French families in London, that several of the male interviewed to a great extent relied on their partners to account for the social ties of the family. These men also benefited

from the networks that the partners had tied. The same somewhat applies to the interviewed Swedish citizens, who have both relied on, and benefited of the networks of the partners. However, the interviewees have also actively sought to build networks of their own.

Forsander (2002, 207) found that a Finnish partner constituted a likely path to further contacts to the majority population, and that other connecting points or persons were relatively rare for the interviewed immigrants in her study. Colleagues, people met through studies and hobbies constituted other openings, but usually the contacts tied through these channels were not as close as the ones that had been tied through the partner.

P53: Yes well, most of my Finnish contacts I have, like on the whole are through my wife.<sup>11</sup>

P47: It's a lot, as I said, due to my wife being fully Finnish-speaking. It depends a lot on that. [...] If she'd had Swedish-speaking origin, then it would have been different.<sup>12</sup>

This quotation illustrates how the social network of the interviewed in Finland to a large extent is mediated through the partner. The initial contacts to Finns in Finland were in all cases except for two tied to the partners of the interviewed, in form of friends and family of the partner. In contradistinction to, for example Spalter's (2010) or Ryan and Mulholland's (2014) results, no clear differences between the use of the partners' networks were found between the male and female interviewees. One factor which might have played a role is that only two of the interviewed had children at the time of the interview, and in both cases the interviewed was male. Children tend to influence and change the social networks of the parents, something that also to some extent occurred in the interviews (Ryan and Mulholland 2014, 261).

P5: [Friends] that I see? I think I have to say Finnish-speaking, or, yeah, through my boyfriend it gets. Then it is more Finnish speakers.<sup>13</sup>

The language used in the groups of friends to a large extent differed depending on the first language of the partner. Five of the interviewed had a partner or spouse who spoke Finnish as first language, and five who spoke Swedish as first language. The interviewed described the ties to the friends of the partners in similar ways,

regardless of the first language of the partners or of the friends, and did not express that they would have found it hard to become a part of the networks.

Even though the friends and families of the partners often were regarded as an asset, the interviewed also expressed how they sometimes longed for friends of their own, something that also has been noted in previous research (Ryan and Mulholland 2014, 258). In the following quotation the interviewed mentions the vulnerable position one might be in, when moving due to another person:

P2: But then when I got here it was very tough, it was, I had expected it to be, but perhaps not as hard as it would be. Because I came here in the autumn, and I didn't start school until January, so there was three-four months that I basically did nothing. And the more time you spent at home, the more difficult did it get to go out and come up with something that you can do by yourself [...] When you anyways were alone, it happened easily that you isolated yourself and thought god what have I done and oh I know nobody except [partner] and he will get tired of me because I only cling onto him all the time because I have no friends of my own. So in the beginning it was hard.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Finnish partners constituted an important resource for the Swedish citizens on frequent basis, when asked about their role as mediators of employment the answers were unanimous regarding the fact that the Finnish partners, if they had participated, had only played a minor role or had minor impact on the process. When the partners had participated in the application process, their role had generally been to provide the interviewed with background information about web-pages or possible channels for employment. The partners had also helped the interviewed with translations of documents or information.

The Finnish partners constitute strong ties for the interviewed, and thus only provide the interviewees with limited openings to further information. As the networks of the interviewed to a great extent are mediated through the partners, also the friends and family of the partners constitute strong ties, and are thus not likely to yield useful paths of information (Granovetter 1973). Thus the partners have not, and were not perceived to act as mediators of employment. As stated, the Swedish migrants to a great extent arrive to an established social network on which they can rely after the time of migration. This access to an initial network is reflected on several of the topics discussed further on in the analysis, such as in the following sections on social ties in Finland.

### 5.3.2 Ties to Swedish-speaking Finns

The partners constituted one of the central connecting points to the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland. Other openings were educational institutions, workplaces and organisations or hobbies. Many of the interviewees had plenty of connections to differing sectors of the Swedish-speaking community. I define Swedish-speaking as people or instances where Swedish is either the first language of, or main language used in the communication.

SF: So it's through [partner] you've come in contact with Swedish-speaking Finns?

P48: You can say that again! Through her and through the studies, [...] that's where I've come in contact with the Swedish-speaking Finns.<sup>15</sup>

P2: And then most of the friends are Swedish-speaking, because I have learnt to know many at [Swedish-speaking educational institution] and I also read my minor subject at [Swedish-speaking educational institution], so then it's been fully Swedish-speaking too.<sup>16</sup>

P47: Well most of them [the Swedish-speaking Finns] I have learnt to know through work of course.<sup>17</sup>

P49: Well I'm in this organisation [...] and there, well it's Swedish-speaking. So through that I basically know most of the people I know in Finland.<sup>18</sup>

These above quotations give examples of arenas where the interviewed have been able to broaden their social networks and get in touch with Swedish-speaking friends and acquaintances. These are connections that the interviewed know, but might not have close connections to, i.e. what Mark Granovetter (1973, 1364) defines as weak ties.

P45: It's been a great help that there is this Swedish-speaking, like, world here, actually.<sup>19</sup>

Several of the interviewed identified positive aspects of arriving into a Swedish-speaking minority. The group is relatively small and thus the distances between the people are short. Getting to know one Swedish-speaking Finn usually resulted in several other Swedish-speaking connections through the initial contact. Establishing networks among the Swedish-speaking Finns was perceived to be relatively easy (Creutz and Helander 2012, 99; cf. Ryan and Mulholland 2014, 258).

P52: I'd say that the Swedish-speaking Finns are very social and open and welcoming, and I've been fantastically well received and everyone has been so so kind and including, [...] it seems for me as the Swedish-speaking culture is very open and welcoming. [...] And it's a good platform to start, it is a quite big privilege to be able to move to a new country and still be able to speak your own language and through that you don't have to jump right into the new. Instead you can have like a nice safe platform and from there learn Finnish, for example. And get Finnish friends. So I would say that it's been a really really great thing, it has suited me great.<sup>20</sup>

As the quotation above illustrates, the Swedish-speaking community is perceived as a stepping stone and resource for the interviewed.

P9: Many come here because of love, and if [the partner is] a Swedish-speaking Finn, things usually get solved rather automatically. Sometimes I feel a bit sorry for those who come here and are together with a Finnish-speaker, who are totally outside of this lovely Swedish-speaking network.<sup>21</sup>

The initial platform, which for other immigrant groups may be constituted of co-nationals, seems for the Swedish citizens interviewed for this study to be constituted of Swedish-speaking Finns (cf. Cederberg 2012; Katila and Wahlbeck 2012; Ryan 2011; Wahlbeck 2010; Ryan et al. 2008; Reuter and Jaakkola 2005). Thus the Swedish citizens can, from the very beginning, establish ties and contacts with Finnish people, who accordingly enable the processes of integration into the Finnish society.

The experiences were not however entirely positive. As a few of the interviewees point out, unless you have the initial contacts to the network, it may be hard to gain access to the Swedish-speaking networks. These interviewed had either a Finnish-speaking partner, or had arrived in Finland for other reasons than a Finnish partner, and thus lacked the initial gate to the Swedish-speaking community, that the other interviewed had.

P53: Well it's like, because most of the Swedish-speaking Finns go to these small schools, they have their community, and because I don't come from that end it feels very hard to get into it.<sup>22</sup>

P46: I guess I haven't looked for them [the Swedish-speaking Finns] in an active sense. But I've understood they keep to themselves a bit.<sup>23</sup>

In several cases, the interviewed felt restricted by their social network in Finland, insofar as they did not know people who could constitute connections to the professional field where they wished to aim. Forsander (2002, 206) discusses how the character of the networks influence how well they constitute an asset on the labour market, and Mark Granovetter (1985) emphasises the role of acquaintances as messengers of new or valuable information. Even though the interviewees have rather wide ranging connections to Swedish-speaking Finns, the opinions about these ties and the minority were not unanimously positive.

### **5.3.3 Comfortable or Cornered - The Impact of Closure**

P51: Well it's always easier if you know somebody. And then it's also depending on what kind of references you get. You easily burn your bridges if you mismanage. If you're burnt at one place then you can basically say you're burnt at all Swedish-speaking [workplaces in the own field]. [...] Because everybody knows each other within [the field]. [...] People move between [workplaces in the field], and this rotation leads to many people knowing each other. [...] So it's easy to burn your bridges if you don't do well. But at the same time it's easier to get a job somewhere else if you do behave yourself.<sup>24</sup>

This quotation illustrates how a closely knit social network in some cases may work as an asset, but in other may restrict the person from gaining something. Coleman (1988, 105) discusses norms as a form of social capital, and how a closely knit social network may restrict or enable a person from achieving, for example, a wanted position. Coleman states that in order for social capital in forms of norms to work efficiently, there needs to be a high level of closure within the network, i.e. that several or most of the members are interconnected with each other. In that case the control of norms and sanctions of incorrect behaviour is sufficient. In the above described field, the level of closure is high as "everybody knows each other", which on the one hand enables members to move further, but on the other hand also might restrict the members if they act improperly.

The following quotation illustrates how the understanding of the Swedish-speaking community and labour market is rather divided, as the interviewed on the one hand identifies the positive aspects of a relatively closely knit network, but on the other hand also identifies the restrictions of a limited market, and a

network with a high level of interconnectedness among the members (cf. Fortelius and Wahlbeck 2013).

P48: Here in the Swedish-speaking Finland people genuinely know who you are. It's not only that you have a friend who knows you. [...] If a friend mentions you, then at least three other know exactly who you are through somebody else. [...] It's really scary. But I guess it's double-edged. I've had this conversation with several friends who are Swedish-speaking Finns, who say that like [...], use the fact that there is a network, but don't let yourself get pulled down [...]. I feel a certain uneasiness about the fact that you slide in on a favour, and then you owe someone a favour who can come and try to collect it. And if you misbehave during this process it might ruin your future [...]. So it feels very double-edged. If you do right, fine, if you do wrong, you're screwed.

25

Luckily none of the interviewees mentioned that they would have misbehaved among the Swedish-speaking Finns at the time of the interview, neither in work-related matters nor private matters. Still many perceived the Finnish-speaking society as the goal of integration, and that the Swedish-speaking community was something of a buffer-zone, a touchdown before taking the step out to the larger society or labour market.

### **5.3.4 Ties to Finnish-speaking Finns**

All interviewed had some ties also to the Finnish-speaking community in Finland, in other words, knew people whose first language is Finnish, or were active in contexts where the main language used is Finnish. In many cases the door to the Finnish-speaking networks was the partner of the interviewed, but also other channels occurred.

P1: Well, almost, not that many Finnish speakers actually [...]. Like, the closest ones I have are [partner's] friends.<sup>26</sup>

Usually the main language of the circle of acquaintances and friends was defined in an early stage. Which language-group the interviewed had more ties to depend on the premises that the interviewed arrived in Finland on, as well as on the initial ties to Finns. As was mentioned in the previous sections, the partners influenced the networks of the interviewed, but also other sources of connections and friends distinguished the circle of friends of the interviewed.

SF: So how did you learn to know them, is it through this webpage or?

P46: Yes, the first ones, and then further, through the ones I learned to know first, and then I've also met people just out in bars and clubs. Many people in bars.<sup>27</sup>

SF: That would be my next question; do you know many Finnish-speakers?

P49: Not that many, but I know a few, as I said like, it's the next line of friends. So it's my colleagues' wives and husbands and boyfriends and girlfriends so it's... And then I know one of our neighbours, who lives here and is Finnish-speaking.<sup>28</sup>

Among the interviewed, there were also a few who mainly were in contact with Finnish-speakers, and who had little or no contact with Swedish-speaking Finns. These interviewed had moved to Finland due to a Finnish-speaking partner, and had since not made connections outside the group of Finnish-speaking Finns.

SF: Why do you think that [you know so few Swedish-speakers]?

P50: On the one hand because I don't explicitly befriend people because they're Swedish-speaking Finns. Like, for example my friend who's very active in those circles has tried to drag me to different things, 'yes well they speak Swedish there'. But I don't think it's interesting, there's no reason to befriend people according to what language they speak. So I've never tried to get inside, or I've never tried to befriend someone due to that. And on the other hand it's because of [partner], and because we had quite a big network of friends before we moved here, that wasn't Swedish-speaking. So naturally those are the same friends that we have now.<sup>29</sup>

When the ties to the two language groups in Finland are compared, there are differences in the set and structure of the ties, which are influenced by the two languages. The strong ties to Finnish people were distributed evenly between the two language groups, depending on the first languages of the partners and initial circles of friends. The difference is instead to be found among the components of the weak ties, as the interviewed had a broader network among the Swedish-speaking Finns, than the Finnish-speaking Finns. The Finnish-speaking weak ties were not used as resources to the same extent as the Swedish-speaking networks, due to, for example the language-barrier between the interviewed and the local (Finnish-speaking) labour market or society (cf. Granovetter 1973).



P46: The Finnish-speakers I know are like, I guess they've known about vacant jobs, but they've always been only for Finnish-speakers. So it hasn't, that hasn't been of any help.<sup>30</sup>

### **5.3.5 “I have no need to stay in touch with Swedes. Like, what would I do with them?”**

During the interviews the Swedish citizens were asked about their ties to other Swedish residents in Finland. Several studies of immigrant integration (Cederberg 2012, Reuter and Jaakkola 2005) and labour market integration (ex. Katila and Wahlbek 2012; Wahlbeck 2010, 2007) have found that ethnic or national belonging is present for the migrant also after migration, and that the group of co-nationals may constitute an important asset for the individual in the country of settlement (cf. Faist 2000, Hagan 1998). At the same time, a strong network within the own group may restrict the immigrant from coming in contact with the majority population, and thus from attaining valuable social capital that way, even though the ethnically bound connections may constitute resources as such (Anthias 2007; Forsander 2002, 207; Coleman 1988, 105-108).

A strong network among co-nationals is not the case for the Swedish immigrants interviewed for this study. Generally the interviewed knew, if any, very few other Swedish citizens in Finland. These contacts were rarely perceived as assets or support in the integration process, but rather as friends or acquaintances on a general level (cf. Ryan 2011; Ryan et al. 2008). The arena where the interviewed had met other Swedish citizens in a more systematic sense were Finnish language courses.

P48: I have no need to stay in touch with Swedes. Like, what would I do with them? It's nice, I can talk to them, I can talk to my wife or my friends. So no, I have no need for it.<sup>31</sup>

P53: You like, get support from the society here. You get your forms in Swedish, you don't need a friend who knows better Finnish to help you with that kind of stuff. I guess the social demand is not as big [as for other immigrant groups]<sup>32</sup>.

Varying reasons were given for the lack of contact with other Swedes. The interviewees expressed resentment towards becoming too involved with other

Swedes, as it was perceived to prevent the integration process into Finnish society (cf. Putnam 2000, 22-23). These results correspond to the results of Ryan's (2011, 715) and Ryan et al. (2008, 683) studies of Polish migrants in London.

P53: One of my reasons for moving to Finland was learning Finnish [...] [H]anging out with the other Swedes all the time, it feels a bit unjustified.<sup>33</sup>

Neither the social nor the cultural demand was perceived to be big enough to become a reason to stay in touch with other Swedish citizens in Helsinki.

P50: Perhaps because it's Finland, and because it's quite close, there is, I don't feel any longing for anything Swedish here. There's [...] nothing in Sweden that I couldn't get here<sup>34</sup>.

Due to the fact that contact with other Swedish citizens in Finland was not perceived to bring extra value to the interviewees, a Swedish network is not a source of social capital in this case. As Bourdieu (1986) states, the networks which enable social capital are kept up due to the outcomes the members perceive to gain by belonging to the network. For the interviewed, the perception was that the gain one may get from belonging to a Swedish network in Finland is next to nothing. Thus the network is not actively produced, and does not constitute social capital for the interviewed (Anthias 2007).

### **5.3.6 What Does the Social Ties Tell About the Swedish Citizens in Finland?**

Annika Forsander (2002, 207) has in her study found that the immigrants she interviewed often had only scarce ties to the Finnish majority population. The occurring ties were often mediated through a Finnish spouse or partner, or through authorities, teachers, neighbours or colleagues (cf. Granovetter 1973). Ties to other immigrants were tied through hobbies, organisations, family, friends or religious organisations. Mark Granovetter (1973) discusses the value of broad networks of acquaintances that may provide the individual with valuable information.

For the Swedish citizens, the paths through which the connections were tied are the same as the discussed in Forsander's (2002, 207) study, but the occurrence

and composition of the ties differ. The Swedish citizens have many and wide ranging ties to the Finnish society, both through Swedish- and Finnish-speaking friends or acquaintances, as well as through hobbies, studies and work. The interviewees have strong ties to both language groups, mediated through the partners, but have more weak ties among the Swedish-speaking Finns. All in all, the interviews show that the Swedish immigrants are socially well integrated, as they for example have wide-ranging ties to the encompassing society and to a great extent are employed (cf. Martikainen et al. 2012, 132; Integration Act 1999).

The reasons for the wide-ranging ties to Finnish people are on the one hand that the Swedish citizens arrive to previously established networks to which they gain access through their partners. Another influencing factor is that the Swedish citizens can start building their own networks among the Swedish-speaking Finns, towards whom there are no language barriers. The wide-ranging ties to Finns also explain the lack of inter-ethnic ties among the Swedish citizens interviewed for this study. The Swedish citizens do not have to rely on co-ethnic ties in order to gain information, as they have access to networks among the majority population that can provide them with support or information (Ryan 2011; Ryan et al. 2008).

The Swedish-speaking society in Helsinki does constitute an important platform for the Swedish immigrants and many of the interviewed have utilised the Swedish-speaking services provided. This has reduced the need to rely on social ties as resources on the labour market. The Swedish citizens do not attach much value to their social networks in their search of employment. In Chapter 7, I will go into further detail on why the social networks only play a limited role when the Swedish citizens have gained employment in Helsinki, which the interviews seem to indicate.

## 6 The Rules of the Field – Perceptions of the Labour Market in Helsinki

In the previous sections I have presented the reader with an overview of background information that might influence the process of labour market integration in Helsinki. I have discussed the educational and work-life experiences of the interviewed, as well as elaborated on the structure and role of the social ties they have in Finland.

Several of the interviewed had a general picture of how the labour market in Finland works, how one gains employment in Helsinki. Generally the interviewees were of the opinion that the labour market works on connections and contacts and that the environment on the labour market might be rather exclusive, but that they had managed to gain access nevertheless. This corresponds to Bourdieu's definition of a field, an area where power struggles are fought with rules controlled by the people in power positions, and because of the aspirations of newcomers to gain access or acceptance on the field (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

SF: Do you think you have got your jobs in a typical way? Is this the way you get a job in Finland?

P44: Well that I don't know, I mean, a typical way... I actually think it's more like that people recommend people, apply for this, we would like you to apply for this. So in that sense I don't think I'm typical, with this classic, traditional way. And I think there are, [...] ok [the vacancy] is announced, perhaps because it has to be, but it is actually decided, because they have internal recruitment. So you tip off and network and... personal contacts. So in that sense I think I am very untypical, yes<sup>35</sup>.

The quotation above describes the functions of a field as Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1997; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) defines it, where the already employed, the people who hold the power positions of the field, define the rules by which the power struggles over domination are fought. Those people who possess acknowledged social capital succeed and get "picked by contacts", or gain access to information about vacancies.

All interviewed were asked to give hints and advice to Swedish migrants who have recently arrived in Finland, on how to manage in the labour market in Helsinki.

The answers frame what skills or knowledge the interviewed perceive to be of value on the labour market, i.e. what rules they perceive to prevail on the field and thus which forms of capital that might be valued. Among the suggestions there were two categories that were mentioned in most of the interviews, which also follow the logic of the division of different forms of valued symbolic capital. The two categories of most frequently occurring answers were a need for sufficient language skills in Finnish and the use of contacts in order to gain access to the local labour market.

### 6.1 “Contacts, contacts, contacts”

P48: I think that overall, [...] it does work more with contacts [...] I am sure that if you want to work for Nokia or at a bank, or like, a job that is a bit fancier, so in that case I think it is quite easy to get picked by contacts.<sup>36</sup>

Most of the interviewees placed emphasis on asking friends or acquaintances for information or help.

P46: I would say, look among your contacts. As much as possible. Ask every, every, every person you know, ask people you don't know. [...] But, contacts, contacts, contacts, I would say.<sup>37</sup>

P48: As soon as you make a contact, don't be afraid to ask [for information about a job].<sup>38</sup>

Contacts were perceived to be useful due to the further knowledge that they were perceived to hold. As one of the informants state:

P52: I think it's almost stupid not to ask the contacts you have, to like see what the options are. Because I can't possibly know about [the options] either, since I come from the outside<sup>39</sup>.

These quotations build on Mark Granovetter's (1973) discussion on strong and weak ties, and the basic idea that new information about vacancies is likely to travel among people who only know each other briefly, as closely connected people are likely to share the same sources of information. You are more likely to hear about a vacancy through a person who, for example is working in another workplace, than your close colleague working in the same team. This is due to the fact that you and your teammate to a great extent might be sharing the same

channels of information. Asking contacts for help thus broadens the spectrum from which one may find employment.

Using contacts in order to find information about vacancies or positions is a way of making use of one's social capital. However, there is a difference in how the interviewees talk about contacts and their role on the local labour market. In the first excerpt, the interviewed describes a situation where you "get picked by contacts" i.e. a situation where the focus is put on the outcome you may get from the contacts. This description corresponds to the definition of social capital that Bourdieu (1986) makes, when he defines social capital as the outcomes one may gain through connections and networks. On the contrary, in the other quotations the informants talk about how one should ask contacts for help, use the social network one has access to. In these cases, the social capital lies in the information channels which may enable the person to gain something, i.e. how Coleman (1988) defines one form of social capital.

## **6.2 "To get a job in Finland, learn Finnish"**

P46: What ought to make a difference should be education, work experience and then maybe language. And for me it's the language that is the problem, because I have education and I have work experience within my field. But, then again I can't speak Finnish. So then it goes down the tube.<sup>40</sup>

In accordance to previous research (Forsander 2013, 2002, 185-192; Kyhä 2011, 139; Jaakkola and Reuter 2007; Ahmad 2005; Sutela 2005), the interviewed for this study identified language skills in Finnish as a valued asset on the local labour market. The need to learn Finnish was one of the most frequently occurring advices the interviewees wanted to pass on. In some way, all of the interviewed mentioned the need to learn Finnish during the interview.

P52: [T]o get a job in Finland, learn Finnish.<sup>41</sup>

P44: To learn Finnish [...]. Not to give up on the Finnish either, even though it goes slowly, don't give it up.<sup>42</sup>

Language skills in Finnish were perceived as a precondition for succeeding on the local labour market in the long run. Several of the interviewees acknowledged that

even though they had managed in Swedish or English thus far, they still perceived their lack of language skills in Finnish as a restriction for their future plans in Helsinki.

P53: Yes well, harshly said you have to learn Finnish. I would say. In Helsinki at least. If nothing else, it might not be a must, you might not have to speak Finnish in all posts, but it does look better.<sup>43</sup>

Bourdieu (1986) identifies learnt language skills as institutionalised cultural capital. Several of the interviewees motivated the need for language skills in Finnish with the restriction they compose, if lacked.

P49: If you speak Finnish there are plenty of jobs. Or if you compare to what there is only in Swedish.<sup>44</sup>

The quotation however shows how it is also possible to get along without skills in Finnish, but that language skills broaden the spectrum. Another way to get past the need to learn Finnish was to work in English, which two of the interviewed did.

P9: It's a never ending scourge, because there are so so many things I could do in Sweden [...] or anywhere, that I can't do here. [...] Because I can only work in English or Swedish<sup>45</sup>.

Most of the interviewed had participated in Finnish language courses, and the interviewed had various experiences of the quality of the courses. Many perceived it to be hard to learn Finnish, and some of the interviewed also expressed their dissatisfaction with the teaching methods used in the classes. Out of the interviewed, it was only a one that was fluent in Finnish. Many defined their language skills in Finnish as poor.

P1: I've tried to take some courses [...], but I had to quit when I started working. And since then I've read some evening courses at Arbis, but they've been rather bad actually. So the last one I quit. [...] The Finnish comes, I mean work comes first, then the hobbies and last there is the Finnish.<sup>46</sup>

Bourdieu states that the different forms of capital are interconnected in such a way that one form of capital may enable the actor to accumulate other forms (Bourdieu 1986). Especially in the case of the Finnish language-courses, the economic capital influenced the learning. One of the few interviewed who knew Finnish, had taken lectures in a private language-school. In this case the interviewed invested both

time and money into learning Finnish, which the interviewee mentioned above could not do.

P52: I've taken private lessons in Finnish, so I've had a teacher who's applied the level [of the teaching] according to my knowledge [...]. So that's been great.<sup>47</sup>

Some of the interviewed acknowledged that Finnish skills might not be a precondition as such, but that the valued asset is connected to something attached to learning the language, instead of the factual language skills.

P50: [A]ctually you don't need to learn it, you don't even need to be especially, study that much, but just to tell people 'I go to a Finnish class and I am genuinely interested in learning Finnish' - that is a massive plus!<sup>48</sup>

In this case language skills are understood as being connected to a commitment to the Finnish society, a sign of a strive for complete integration (cf. Naumanen and Silvennoinen 1996, 70). The quotation also points to the interconnectedness of symbolic capitals, where one form may have a positive impact on another (Bourdieu 1986). By learning the Finnish language, increasing ones institutionalised cultural capital, one simultaneously also increase valued embodied cultural capital, by enhancing ones capacity of being or behaving in the right way, being more "Finnish" and showing commitment.

P52: But it's, I know people who have worked in Finland for six-seven years who can say '*kylle*' ['yes' with Swedish accent], and that's basically all. I don't think that's any good, I wouldn't want it that way. [...] [I]f you live in a country then you should have the whole piece. Otherwise you easily get isolated, in my opinion.<sup>49</sup>

It is at this point important to note that the above discussed definitions of valued capitals are based on a summary of the perceptions of the local labour market the Swedish citizens interviewed for this study have. It is also central to underline, in accordance to Ahmad (2010, 73), that the labour market works in complex ways. The processes are constituted of more than predefined structures and rules based on the valued assets that are used in the trade of labour force between the employer and employee. Ahmad (2010, 74) disapproves the notion of a labour market where applicants and employers act on a market based on a logic of pure supply and demand. Instead he, based on his doctoral thesis (Ahmad 2005)



concludes that the labour market to a wide extent is influenced by the encompassing socio-cultural reality, that the vacancies are rather social events than rational actions of trade. As Ahmad (2010, 74, 89) states it, a position that would correspond to the educational degree of the migrant is not guaranteed by simply possessing the right form of educational degree, for example, as the process of recruitment is influenced by social and institutional aspects too. Thus, when discussing immigrants' paths to the local labour market, it is important to focus on the one hand on assets of the applicants and on the other hand acknowledge the attitudes of the employers, as the following quotation illustrates (cf. Forsander 2002, 219).

P48: Forget about this with the education! Because I was very afraid of that in the beginning when I heard that, shit, like, all here have a master's degree and you won't get a job unless you have like seven degrees and have all your papers. [...] But this is not the case, it's contacts, contacts, contacts and personality.<sup>50</sup>

### **6.3 Behavioural Codes on the Workplaces**

Embodied cultural capital may influence how well a newcomer settles at a workplace (Bourdieu 1986, 1984, 166). Unwritten rules or cultural codes that prevail at the workplace can in some cases become issues for immigrants, who due to their national background may have differing views or perceptions of social interaction (Forsander 2002, 56).

P48: I don't get the humour of Swedish-speaking Finns, I have major issues with that. I've even mentioned it at a development discussion that I had at [workplace], where you should like tell, what problems do you have at work? I don't understand what people perceive as funny! And what people don't perceive as funny. So I'm sure I might step on someone's toes, I might be perceived as super-boring, but that's mostly because I sit, like, oh, [now] I'm supposed to laugh!<sup>51</sup>

This quotation illustrates how the interviewee lacks an in Finland or among Swedish-speaking Finns achieved and tied embodied cultural capital that would enable the interviewed to understand the social and cultural aspects of the interaction at the workplace (Bourdieu 1986). In the following quotation, the interviewee identifies multiple aspects of her persona that works against her in the sector in which she is active.

P54: That I'm a woman, that's a small obstacle. But in 15 years, when all the old men retire, then goddammit! So that's a small thing that you feel that things are starting to happen, it moves a bit, but it's still a bit like, 'mm, well but you can't be technically inclined, you're a girl, and Swedish, and talkative!' Oh, minus, minus, minus. So preferably you should be an old man, who's worked in a lab all his life and have an old Kiss-tour 1984 t-shirt and so on. And then you should be grumpy and... preferably.<sup>52</sup>

Here the interviewee describes the prevailing climate at the occupational field where she is working, and acknowledges that her habitus does not fit the ideal type of a professional in her field. As the interviewee is working in a specific sector, she is in a particular situation. The sector is traditionally and still today a male dominated field. What differentiates the sector from other skilled professions is that applicants to a large extent are evaluated based on their technical expertise rather than other factors (cf. Raghuram 2008, 45, 47; see also Chapter 7.5 in this thesis).

As Ahmad (2010, 89) states, institutional and social factors influence whether a person is likely to get employed or. In this sense the Swedish migrants interviewed for this study are in a specific situation, as they do not fit the stereotypical category of "immigrants", and as the Swedish citizens to several extents meet the social and institutional demands set by the Finnish society (cf. Larja et al. 2012, 54; Ahmad 2005; Helander 2004, 279; Jasinskaja-Lahti, et al. 2002, 120; Chiswick 1978). Still, as the quotations above show, also the Swedish citizens have faced cultural differences, and the processes of integration should not be taken for granted.

P44: But that's the thing with Sweden and Finland, [...] that it's rather similar on this [general level] but then you get deeper into it, and then there are differences. But it's hard to put a finger on exactly what it is, what the big difference is.<sup>53</sup>

These quotations illustrate how the Swedish immigrants are in a specific position also on the Swedish-speaking labour market in Finland. Even though the differences are small, they do exist. The paths to employment to the Swedish-speaking labour market are less problematic than the paths to the Finnish-speaking labour market, but that does not erase the fact that the Swedish citizens in Helsinki are in the positions of outsiders, also in the Swedish-speaking context.

In this chapter I have defined the labour market in Helsinki as the interviewed perceive it. I have discussed what rules the interviewed perceive to prevail on the field. In the following chapters the focus will be on the assets used to gain employment, thus also indirectly a description of the field in which the interviewed are active. Due to the fact that most of interviewed are active in different sectors of the labour market, it is impossible to state holistic and absolute truths about the local labour market in Helsinki. Instead, I will identify the ways in which the interviewed have managed to gain access, what capitals they have mobilised, and in that way try to capture the rules of the field.

## **7 Experiences of Employment and the Labour Market in Helsinki**

In this chapter I intend to define how the interviewed have managed to gain employment in Helsinki, what capitals they have been able to mobilise, and what obstacles they have faced. In the first section I will discuss the interviewees' first employments after migration, how they have gained access to the labour market and to which sectors, and what the interviewed have done in order to improve their position. In the second section I will focus on the interviewees' ties to Sweden through a transnational perspective, and discuss the role of ties to Sweden for gaining employment in Helsinki. The chapter is concluded with a discussion on the cases where the interviewees have managed to find employment that corresponds to their educational background and work experience.

### **7.1 How to Get a Foot In – Initial Employment After Migration**

Annika Forsander (2002, 222) discusses the role of the state in the integration process of immigrants, and especially the role of the employment office in the process of labour market integration (see also Martikainen et al. 2012, 133). Forsander (2002) concludes that the institutional support in the best case can provide the immigrant access to assets, trough, for example the network, the connections to the local labour market that the employment office has (see Arajärvi 2009, 42-44; Valtioneuvosto 2008, 25-26). Another possible outcome for the immigrant is accessible through schooling provided by the employment office,

in the case when the immigrant has the possibility to improve language or working skills (Forsander 2002, 222). This schooling may also have a positive impact on the embodied cultural capital of the immigrant, as he or she may develop knowledge of norms and cultural models that may prevail on the labour market. The role of the state, through the employment office, is thus to make up for the lack of personal, local ties and resources. The employment office was not however frequently used by those interviewed for this study.

P47: Well [I] wondered if [I'd] have to come here and go to this kind of employment office too, but that solved itself before [I] got to that [point].<sup>54</sup>

This quotation represents the experiences and attitudes of several of the interviewed. Only one had visited the employment office and got help, another one had visited but been discouraged by the long queues, and left before starting a program (cf. Valtonen 2001; Valtioneuvosto 2008, 19). The general atmosphere among the interviewed was that they felt they could manage themselves, and that they did not need institutional support, due to their social network in Finland.

P44: I've never got this kind of integration. I've never been integrated, like got help. So instead I've looked up things myself. But then again it's important that I already had a network before I moved here, I naturally have my [partner], [who] helps me [...] I think I've had it easier in that sense.<sup>55</sup>

P47: I'd perhaps initially ask my wife for help, as I have those resources. But otherwise if you'd come alone, it think it would be the employment office.<sup>56</sup>

Thus one can conclude that the Swedish migrants interviewed for this study have not used the employment office as a provider of strengthening services as defined by Forsander (2002, 222), and have not participated in integration programmes provided for immigrants by the Finnish State (Valtioneuvosto 2008). Even though the interviewees have been aware of the services of the employment office, it seems like they have enough resources within reach through their personal networks.

Many of the interviewed had however used the employment office's webpages and database of vacant positions. Other internet pages were also used, such as the Aarresaari.net and Monster.fi. A common way to gain information was also simply

to google the occupation. The internet was used in many senses also for finding information about more general issues regarding the everyday life in Finland.

P53: It was an announcement on, Aarresaari, I used to check [it] every now and then.<sup>57</sup>

P48: I think it was the internet, it was this database, I mean MOL.fi, [...] so it was through their database that I found this job. I [...] had this routine of always in the mornings go in there and plough through the announcements and see whether there was anything new.<sup>58</sup>

P52: I googled a bit, and looked for Swedish-speaking [occupation], Finland, and checked what, like which areas there are.<sup>59</sup>

SF: How did you find out about these jobs that you applied for?

P50: Monster[.fi], the internet.<sup>60</sup>

Information of vacancies also travelled through the social networks of the interviewees, as friends or acquaintances had seen advertisements for vacant positions and distributed the information further to the interviewed. The following quotation illustrates how the interviewee gained information about a vacant position through a friend. The friend was not however personally connected to the workplace for which the interviewed applied.

P44: I actually don't know how... [...] I'm sure it was in Husis [Hufvudstadsbladet] too, it was a public... or if he had seen it at MOL? Because it was he who told me that 'apply for it' [...]. But I don't know how [friend] got to know about it actually, through what channels...<sup>61</sup>

In this case the interviewed gained information about the vacancy, but the provider of the information was not in a position to help the interviewed in the actual process of getting the job (cf. Granovetter1973, 1372, Coleman 1988).

### **7.1.1 Where the Threshold is Low – Entry-level Jobs**

Several of the interviewees had worked in a sector different than their “own” after migrating to Finland. Most of the interviewed had both an educational degree and work experience from their respective sectors from before migration, but were still struggling to find employment in Finland that would match their experience (cf. Valtioneuvosto 2008, 26; Valtonen 2001). All interviewees were occupied at

the time of the interview, and none expressed to have had major problems in finding employment, even though several had adjusted their standard or sector which they applied to after arriving in Finland.

P50: I guess that if you have had a job in Finland, then it's easier to get the next one. Because then you have got the stamp that, approved by the Finnish society. So look for jobs on all levels, and don't be like, I'm an engineer so I only want engineer-jobs. [...] Like, take it, the first [offered job]!<sup>62</sup>

Language skills are a central aspect of the discussion on labour market integration and symbolic capital. As several scholars have proven (Forsander 2013, 2002, 185-192; Kyhä 2011, 139; Jaakkola and Reuter 2007; Ahmad 2005; Sutela 2005), sufficient language skills in the national language are closely interrelated to a successful integration in the local labour market and society as a whole. The group of Swedish citizens differ from the larger category of immigrants regarding the matter of language skills. Due to the fact that their first language is one of the official national languages in Finland, the Swedish immigrants seem to have a "head start" in comparison to other immigrant groups (Anthias 2007, 797).

P45: Especially [care-work] I think it's quite typical, to get a job just like that. I'm sure there are sectors where it's more difficult. I have Swedish acquaintances that work here, who've said that it's quite hard, especially if you have a higher education it's very hard to get a job that would correspond to that.<sup>63</sup>

Many of the interviewed were working in the social sector shortly after migration, which turned out to be a fruitful gateway to employment for the Swedish citizens. Several of the interviewed were employed as teachers shortly after their time of migration. Among the interviewed, 11 out of 14 used Swedish as work-language in their first workplace after migration, and most were working within sectors of either children's day- or afternoon care, elderly care or nursing, or language teaching at the time of their first occupation in Finland. These sectors correspond to the results of Creutz and Helanders' (2012, ex. 91, 93) study of immigrants who have chosen Swedish as language of integration when moving to Finland.

Annika Forsander (2002, 43) uses the concept of entry-level jobs as she describes employment that functions as gateways to the labour market through which the employee may increase his or her skills before moving on to further challenges.

These employments usually do not require language- or work-life skills or experience from the employee, and may be uncertain in matters regarding working hours, payment or length of contract. In general, entry-level jobs for immigrants are low-skill jobs in the service sector, such as cleaning- or manual kitchen work (Kyhä 2011, 76; Castels and Miller 2009, 225; cf. Urban 2013).

SF: Have you considered staying in [sector]?

P46: No, It isn't really what I want to do. It's mostly to have an income right now. [...] But no, I want to work with [own sector]. That's what I want and that's what I've put down so much [energy] to educate myself for. So that's what I want to do.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast to entry-level jobs for other immigrant groups, Swedish migrants have the strength of knowing one of the national languages already from the start (cf. Kyhä 2011). Thus the entry-level jobs that have been mentioned by the interviewed can be categorised into an own niche, within which the interviewed Swedish migrants have found employment shortly after migration. In accordance with previous studies (Forsander 2013, 222; Valtonen 2001), entry-level jobs for the interviewees have strong connections to the perceived restrictions on the labour market, mostly a lack in Finnish language skills.

P49: But then again, if you start sorting out, what is there where you only speak Swedish, [...] where do I manage without Finnish? <sup>65</sup>

Several of the interviewed underlined their Swedish language skills as an asset, especially in the case of the first employment after migration (cf. Creutz and Helander 2012, 93). The shortage of labour-force in especially the Swedish-speaking service sector has had an influence on the initial employments for several of the interviewed. In March 2014, there were 77 open vacancies within the municipal Swedish-speaking children's day-care, solely in Helsinki (City of Helsinki 2014).

P49: And when I came here I simply, there is this web-page named Swedish school and day-care, I think. [...] And there are e-mail addresses to all Swedish-speaking schools and day-cares in the Helsinki-region. So I simply e-mailed all of them. [...] It took two hours until they [current workplace] called me, and told me to come for an interview. [...] Then I started working three days later. [...] And it was, I cannot remember how many it was that called me, you know, as I said, I sent [an application] to all Swedish-speaking places, and I don't know if it was like, I think it was thirteen that called.<sup>66</sup>

The following quotation belongs to an interviewee who has for a long time applied for jobs in Helsinki within the own field, without luck. The informant is of the opinion that he has the needed work- and educational experience for the tasks for which he applied, but lacks language skills in Finnish. In the interview the informant mentioned numerous workplaces to which he has sent open applications, without getting any response.

SF: Do you think you have got your current jobs, or these jobs that you've had, in a typical way, is this the way you get a job in Finland?

P46: It does not feel like it's the way one should get a job. It feels like the normal way is to apply through a job advertisement, and then you get called for an interview and then maybe you get the job. This has more been like, they have found me, more or less. [...] It feels like I haven't had to do anything to get these jobs. And it feels a bit strange when I've applied for and worked so hard to apply for jobs, and made an effort, and then these jobs that I have made no effort for, these I get. So it feels... It feels very upside-down. It sure does.<sup>67</sup>

In her study, Forsander (2002, 216) came across cases where the immigrant had "unwittingly" applied for jobs or educations for which he or she did not have sufficient symbolic capital to get accepted to, as these positions were perceived as a rational continuation of the path thus far. The interviewee behind the above quotation was at the time of the interview working two part-time jobs, both in traditional low-skill sectors. Finding employment in a sector different to the one the immigrant initially had aspired to was something that occurred also in Forsanders study, as she describes how some of the interviewees in her study were forced to reconsider their possibilities after several rejections (2002, 216). The interviewed in the case of this thesis has gained the part time occupations through "unofficial" channels, through friends and their recommendations.

P46: And then I got this job in the [service sector] last fall, and that I got through my partner who works in the same [workplace]. So [partner] asked them if they needed somebody, and so they called me and said yes...

SF: Yes yes, so [your partner] explicitly asked if there was something vacant for you?

P46: Yes. [...] So they called me and told me 'you can come and work here'. And then the [other job] I got through my roommate. [The roommate] said they need people so then [I] e-mailed and said I know [roommate] and so on, and then I got it. So I'm, actually I haven't got a



single job that I have applied for, instead I have got jobs through contacts. Solely. <sup>68</sup>

This quotation connects to previous studies on symbolic capital and labour market integration in a twofold but interrelated way. On the one hand, the quotation illustrates how social capital may become important in the situation when other symbolic capitals remain unrecognised and the search of employment fails. On the other hand, the quotation also gives a clean example of what Annika Forsander (2002, 43-44) defines as entry-level jobs. These two starting points may in many cases go together, as the social capital that may be valued, is so only in the sectors of low-skill occupations. In other words, the person in question can only make use of the connections which are active in sectors where the demand for other forms of symbolic capital might be low.

In the case of the interviewed mentioned above, the reasons for failing in getting employed may be various, and it is impossible to pin down an explanation based on the interview. Based on conclusions drawn from previous research, one could however assume that especially a lack of language skills, embodied or institutionalised cultural capital may have had an influence on the interviewed not gaining employment. It is also possible to conclude that the interviewed lacked mobilisable ties that would have connected him and made up for the lack of capitals in the field to which he aimed.

SF: So, you don't have anybody among your acquaintances either who would have contacts further or so? Within your [professional] field?

P46: I have tried to find out if that's the case, but it doesn't seem so. So I don't know, I'll have to chase down somebody who, who works, try to befriend them, I don't know what I should do. <sup>69</sup>

The interviewee has gained employment with the help of friends. The social ties of the interviewed were recognised in the fields of the workplaces and can thus be considered as social capital, not however in the fields where the interviewed had sought employment without succeeding.

### **7.1.2 “The requirement was that you should come from Sweden” - Ethno-specific occupations**

Annika Forsander (2013, 210, 223) also discusses ethno-specific occupations, sectors in which specific skills tied to ethnic origin are valued or needed. As examples she mentions translators or language teachers, where the employee uses his or her specific knowledge of the cultural background as a tool in the work (see also Kyhä 2011, 75). If one applies Bourdieu’s framework of symbolic capital on the notion of ethno-specific occupations, the skills required for the job should be understood as different forms of cultural capital on a specific field. In other words, as an actor on the field of language schooling, the valued forms of cultural capital i.e. language skills or cultural knowledge, are tied to the ethnic origin of the employee. In order for an actor to gain access to, or succeed in the power struggles on the field i.e. gain employment, he or she needs to possess and be able to mobilise these resources.

Several of the interviewees had either previously worked, or were at the time of the interview working as Swedish language teachers. Language teaching was often an occupation that the interviewees were occupied with for a limited period of time, and the contracts were part time in all cases (cf. Forsander 2002, 43).

P44: Mmm, it’s an easy way to get a foot in too, [...] because that’s also a thing with the language, I mean, if my Finnish [language] is not that good at all, then my strength is the Swedish language. So that is what you have to emphasise.<sup>70</sup>

P53: I had never worked as a teacher before. [The advertisement] said that, ok, a teaching degree is positive, but there’s no demand for it. The requirement was that you should come from Sweden. And when I got to the interview it was like no, it’s no problem that you don’t have the education, it’s the social competence [that matters].<sup>71</sup>

In the second case, an educational degree is neither acknowledged nor valued on the field, as it is not required for the position. Instead, embodied cultural capital, a sense of “Swedishness” that the applicant is perceived to have gained by living in Sweden is the important and valued asset. The applicant is required to possess cultural capital anchored in Sweden in order to gain access to the vacancy. In this case the language skills required for the teacher should be defined as embodied

cultural capital, as the teaching is conducted in the first language of the interviewed.

The customers for the language training mentioned above are companies which are active both in Finland and Sweden, and in the interview the informant tells that the teaching method is mostly based on discussion, with the aim of a competence in verbal expression. The company does not only want their employees to be fluent in Swedish as a language, but also to have some knowledge about the cultural norms and aspects of the Swedish society. It is thus not only wanted for the teacher to pass on his knowledge in the Swedish language per se, but also some aspects of understanding Swedish culture.

## **7.2 (Officially) Recognised Educational Degrees?**

The educational background of the migrant may, or may not, be recognised on the labour market in the country of settlement (Forsander 2013, 231). Forsander (2002, 217) underlines that the transferability of the value of an educational degree from one country to another is influenced by several factors, including background factors such as the language used in, or economic status of, the country of origin (cf. Friedberg 2000). According to Forsander (2002, 219), the value of the education is also influenced by the perceived status of the country in which it is achieved. Most value is placed on countries that are perceived to be “close” to the country of settlement. In her study, she has however found that also highly skilled migrants from English-speaking countries have faced problems on the labour market in Finland, and found themselves in situations where their labour market experience and/or educational background stay unvalued and unrecognised. This, she explains, is due to the fact that the gatekeepers to employment in Finland lack knowledge to connect the previous experience to the value it has had in the country where it was achieved.

On an institutional level in Finland, there are ways for immigrants to gain official recognition for their educational or work experiences. The Finnish National Board of Education (2014) has listed professions that are regulated in the Finnish society, which require for the practitioner to have an officially acknowledged educational

degree in order for him or her to be allowed to practice the occupation. An officially authorised educational degree should be perceived as a step towards linking locally anchored value to it, as it after being authorised should be perceived as equal to a corresponding educational degree achieved in Finland.

P47: I'm a [professional in healthcare]. [...] [W]hen I was about to move here I applied for this, what's it called, Valvira has this like, they take my degree and look whether it's suitable for the Finnish, and there are no problems with that in the Nordic countries, because it's basically the same thing.<sup>72</sup>

In this case the educational level of the interviewee is acknowledged as long as the person has made an official announcement to the authorities. The interviewee mentions that due to the fact that the education was achieved in a Nordic country "there are no problems with that", the educations correspond to one another and the degree is thus accepted on the local labour market. Once the degree is authorised, the applicant is equal to the Finnish colleagues on an institutional level.

P52: I actually thought that I was authorised in Finland for a whole year, until someone mentioned that... No, I was looking for a new job and my new boss said, wait a minute, you're not, you're just here as a [specific permission], as it was called then, so that was a bit of a surprise, it's been a bit hard to find information about stuff like that.<sup>73</sup>

Here the interviewee was able to work on a specific special permission which applies to European citizens, a fact which he or she was not fully aware of. The need for further authorisation was only discovered when the interviewee wanted to change jobs. The quotation illustrates how individuals may gain from the inter-Nordic and EU-agreements that cover the two nations. The educational degree was acknowledged and constituted institutionalised cultural capital for the interviewed due to these agreements. The above quotation also indicates that there are ways of getting past the demand for an officially recognised educational degree. Either, as in the case above, you may work on an exceptional or special permission, or, as is the case for the interviewed in the following quotation, it is possible to work also without the official recognition.

P53: If you've attended education in [own field] on a masters level in Finland, then you can announce yourself as an authorised [occupation]. If you come from abroad you have to do this exam [...] All foreign educations in [occupation] are like, of no value for the authorisation here in Finland.<sup>74</sup>

In this case the interviewee was still able to practice his occupation without an official recognition of the degree. This was possible due to the fact that the person worked in his own company, which he had established in Sweden before migrating to Finland. Thus he had not sought employment in Finland and therefore also managed to get past the requirements. The interviewed had looked up information about the requirements, but not found any acute reasons for completing the exam.

P53: As it looks now I'll continue as self-employed and in that case it doesn't matter where I live, actually. But, as I said, I'm very open for, if I'd get a position somewhere as [occupation] or in another way where my [skills] are needed.<sup>75</sup>

Another strategy of obtaining an in Finland officially recognised degree was to attend studies in the country. In the following quotation the interviewee describes how he decided to attend education in order to improve his position in the labour market. He has acknowledged that there are structural hindrances which keeps the interviewed from gaining permanent employment without a recognised educational degree within the own field. Through the manager at the workplace, the interviewee has gained information about the possibility to achieve a degree by combining studies and work.

P49: I'll start this "*educational contract*"[...] Because as an uneducated you can't get permanent employment, and you don't have work during the summers. And then you also get the theoretical base for what you work with, so those are the main reasons.<sup>76</sup>

The interviewee behind this quotation started working in the care work-sector due to the opening to the labour market the position constituted. After some time, however, the interviewee has decided to take further measures in order to improve his position on the labour market, by studying and thus achieving the needed skills and resources to gain permanent employment.

One of the interviewees explicitly chose to study due to the opening to the labour market the studies offered.

P48: But that was one of the reasons I explicitly chose [institution] and [subject], because I'm interested, and I knew it's occupationally-oriented enough, so the chance of me getting an internship would be higher than if I attended a clearly theoretical education.<sup>77</sup>

In this case the interviewee created a path to employment by choosing studies in a specific subject. As the interviewed state, the studies were merely used as a tool to get a foot in on the labour market. Thus the value is tied to local studies and not the educational degree per se. After a compulsory internship the interviewee was offered a position over the summer, after which he did "loads of extra substitute-jobs" (P48). All work tasks had been within the same team, in which the interviewee also at the time of the interview was working. When asked why he thinks he got the job, the interviewee answers in the following way:

P48: Well [employer] says they go more on personality, than what people necessarily know. And I think that I stand out enough, I'm one of the oldest, I'm Swedish, I have different interests than many others there. I'm like of a different personal... that I think, in a way is good for them to have there, because they need somebody that isn't like everybody else.<sup>78</sup>

In the above quotation the interviewed lists several aspects of embodied cultural capital. By behaving in a "different" way, the interviewed was behaving in the "right way" (Forsander 2002, 219). The fact that he came from a background different than the average applicant for the workplace, was mobilisable into an asset for him (cf. Erel 2010).

### **7.3 Transnational Social Ties as a Resource on the Labour-Market**

The interviewees were in frequent contact with friends and family in Sweden, over the internet, by phone, and with visits in both directions. The Swedish citizens also maintained their ties to the Swedish society by consuming Swedish mass media, mostly over the internet. As Wahlbeck (2013a, 2011) states, building on Faist (2000), transnational social relations are maintained between the two countries.

However, surprisingly little contact was maintained between Finland and Sweden in a professional sense. Out of all interviewed, only two were in frequent contact with Sweden through their work. One of the interviewees had established a

company in Sweden, in which he continued to work also after migration. This was possible due to the fact that the daily work and contact with customers was handled over the internet. Furthermore, the interviewee was not anchored to a physical workplace in Sweden before migration.

P53: It's because we're geographically dispersed also in Sweden, so the contact is handled over e-mail. [...] And that's the thing with [tasks within occupation], Sweden is the largest market too. That's where most of the active people are.<sup>79</sup>

In this case, the most fruitful solution was to move the company, but remain on the Swedish labour market (cf. Faist 1998, 217). As the interviewee explains:

P53: It doesn't really matter in which country I am, the customers are within the rest of Europe. [...] But most of my contact network within the field is based in Sweden.<sup>80</sup>

Because the market for the company was in Sweden, the interviewee continued to work with his previous network. The only thing that changed was the geographical location from where he worked, everything else was unaffected by his migration.

Most interviewees mentioned that they used contacts on the Swedish labour market as references when applying for vacancies in Finland, but the interviewees were unanimous regarding the fact that their contacts in Sweden not would be of any help in their search of vacancies on the local labour market in Helsinki.

P47: It's a bit, you are in contact with old colleagues and so. But not more than that, well study mates and old colleagues.

SF: Do you have any, I mean could you, like, get help from them, here in Finland, from your contacts in Sweden? Are there those kinds of bridges?

P47: Nooo, I wouldn't say that. No.<sup>81</sup>

P52: I wouldn't say there are people that know so much about Finland [in Sweden]. I had an employer who knew a bit about Finland but it's, it's far away in some sense, I think for a lot of Swedes.<sup>82</sup>

Even though the geographical distance between Finland and Sweden is short, the mental distance between the labour markets in the two countries was perceived to be long. As was stated in section 5.2, Finland is neither perceived to be a likely country of migration, nor a collaborator in the professional sense (cf. Helander 1999, 13).

In comparison, the ties from Finland to Sweden were more present for the interviewed. In a few cases the interviewed had helped Finnish friends and acquaintances who had moved to Sweden.

P51: I've given advice in the other direction. Colleagues who've moved to Sweden and like, who I've been able to help. Like say, contact this and this person at [past workplace] and say hello from me. So in that direction I've helped.<sup>83</sup>

Even though the interviewees had not used their ties in Sweden to get employed in Finland, the ties to Sweden constitute resources in the daily work for several of the interviewed. At their respective workplaces, the interviewees often had the role of being "the Swedish one", the person who managed the contacts to Sweden. During several occasions, the interviewees had used their knowledge of Sweden in their daily work.

P48: Quite a bit [of contact with Sweden]. It gets that way, I guess if I'd been from here it would have been less contacts, but it is quite a lot. I quite often I choose to call Sweden, because I know it's faster than trying to find something equivalent [in Finland].<sup>84</sup>

P48: [I]f it wasn't for me, there would be significantly less contact with Sweden. I presume. People would first and foremost look for somebody here. And I also support that, but sometimes I think there is a purpose in having like a Swedish-speaking Swedish citizen. But yes, it's me who carry through 90% of the cases where Swedes are involved.<sup>85</sup>

The knowledge and ties to Sweden were in several cases mobilisable *within* the work of the interviewed, even though they were not mobilisable for gaining access *to* the work as such. Clearly, the use of ties to Sweden also depended on the sector in which the interviewed was active. Even though the interviewee had not actively used the ties he had to Sweden in order to gain access to his current work, he identified that his persona and Swedishness most probably had influenced his success.

P53: If nothing else, [...] one has certain knowledge that other Swedish speakers here don't have. One has contacts to Sweden in a totally different way, so for some companies it can be very good. [...] There are very many big enterprises nowadays that are Finnish-Swedish or Nordic, yes [cultural knowledge] can be good.<sup>86</sup>



In this case, the interviewed has succeeded in finding a job in which his specific embodied cultural capital is not only valued but required. He further identifies a labour market in which Swedish people are wanted due to their cultural background. He has managed to match his cultural capital, which in his case also is connected to his educational background, with employment. Umut Erel (2010, 649) states that migrants redefine and recreate forms of migrated cultural capital in order to validate the capitals in the countries of residence (cf. Anthias 2007). Thus I conclude, building on the corresponding results of Erel (2010, 651), that the interviewees discussed above have been able to mobilise their backgrounds and Swedish networks into symbolic capital. This has resulted in employment, as the employers probably valued the ties to Sweden as resources for the upcoming work tasks and workplaces.

#### **7.4 Strategies of Overcoming the Restrictions on the Labour-Market**

In the above sections I have discussed the different paths to employment that have been presented in the interviews. As the statistics show (cf. Statistics Finland 2012c), the Swedish citizens manage well in finding employment and the group as a whole has a low unemployment rate. Research on other immigrant groups has shown that migrants usually hold labour market positions inferior to the majority population (cf. Saarela and Rooth 2006, 124; Friedberg 2000; Chiswick 1978). To a certain extent, the Swedish immigrants seem to have experienced a decline in labour market position after migration. The interviewees for this study have, like other immigrants used strategies to gain access to the labour market in Helsinki, by working in entry-level job-sectors and ethno-specific occupations (cf. Kyhä 2011). I interpret this as an outcome of the fact that the interviewed, shortly after migration have been restricted by a lack of recognised assets, which would provide access to other parts of the labour market.

The interviews show that the Swedish-speaking care-work sector provide a gate to the labour market for many of the interviewees, as the need for workforce overrule the possible requirements for these positions. Therefore the Swedish citizens have achieved these vacancies, even though they lack the official education

and work-life experience. The other gate discussed that occurred in the interviews was the positions of Swedish language teachers, within which several of the interviewed had been active. The interviewees gained these positions, not due to the lack of, but due to the possession of specific, valued and required forms of symbolic capital. As the interviews have shown, the interviewees were able to mobilise their language skills in Swedish and their cultural background or “Swedishness” into cultural capital (cf. Anthias 2007, Bourdieu 1986).

The Swedish citizens have also taken measures in order to improve their position on the labour market, by in some cases acquiring an official recognition of a foreign degree, or by partaking studies in Finland. The interviewees have mobilised their migrated assets, or achieved assets which are anchored and valued in Finland. In both cases the outcomes have been positive for the interviewees, and the educational degrees have been recognised and valued on the fields. Thus the degrees have been mobilised into institutionalised cultural capital.

It is clear that the Swedish citizens manage relatively well in the sense that they do gain employment in Helsinki without major problems. Whereas some of the interviewees have been struggling in achieving a wanted position, others have found and gained employment that corresponds to their expectations and levels of experience, as I will show in the following section.

## **7.5 Getting the Job You Want - Mobilised and Acknowledged Symbolic Capital as Keys to Employment**

SF: You still have a job that corresponds to your education...

P44: Yes and it's amazing! I still don't understand how it happened!<sup>87</sup>

In this section, I will introduce the different strategies the interviewees have used when they have succeeded in gaining employment that matches their aspirations, shortly after migration. Out of the interviewed, a third has managed to gain employment that corresponds to their educational and work life experience. In these cases, the initial work language was Swedish, except for one case when the person used English as work language. In other words, these interviewees have succeeded in mobilising their migrated assets into acknowledged and valued cultural capital, with the result of employment which corresponds to their

ambitions (cf. Anthias 2007). These assets are not only language skills, but a variety of competences. The paths to employment varied in the senses of how the interviewees gained access to the vacancies, but in all cases, the Swedish citizens perceived that their resources achieved in and tied to Sweden had influenced their success on the labour market in Finland.

P51: Yes, with my background I would say, because they [employer] did not know me or my name from before, on [current workplace]. But clearly if you come from that kind of a background, and I have very nice recommendations, so to say, from my employers in Sweden, so certainly I got my job here thanks to that.<sup>88</sup>

In this case the interviewee, from Sweden, applied for and got a one year temporary position within the own field, which later was changed to a permanent contract. The interviewee received the information about the position from a Swedish colleague, who had done a traineeship at the same workplace in Finland. The interviewee had made a career within the own field in Sweden, and as he or she states, this was the reason for succeeding on the labour market in Finland.

P51: Well I guess I got the job because it basically was attractive that someone from [workplace in Sweden], which has a high standard, and where some of the best [people within occupation] in Sweden work, that someone like me would seek out to this little [workplace], as they said.<sup>89</sup>

The previous workplace of the interviewee was known and valued among the Finnish employers, thus could the applicant also mobilise these Swedish resources into acknowledged symbolic capital in the local setting in Helsinki (cf. Anthias 2007). This is opposite to the general experiences of migrants, including highly skilled migrants and migrants from English-speaking countries, who have found that the work experience from the country of origin has not been recognised when seeking employment in Finland (Forsander 2002, 218). In the case above, the perception of the workplace was applied on the interviewee, in the sense that the work experience indicated, not only on an institutionalised cultural capital, but also on a specific kind of embodied form of cultural capital.

The following excerpt illustrates another structure of valued symbolic capitals. In this case the interviewee works in English, within his or her own sector:

SF: What was the reason for you being offered three out of four jobs, then, when you applied?

P50: [B]ecause I am so specialised in what I do, so it's very rare that they get applications that match [their requirements] so well. So as long as I stay within [sector], as long as you are fairly specialised and keep [yourself], like, up to date within that sector, then it's usually no problem to get a job. [...] [E]verybody knows [basic tool], but not everybody has very deep knowledge in [specific tool]. And usually that's what's needed. And in that case everything else is secondary.<sup>90</sup>

In this case the important asset is the factual competence in a specific area (cf. Raghuram 2008, 45). The interviewee continues by identifying other factors which may influence the success in finding a job. In the next quotation the interviewee expresses how important contacts may be on the specific field, and identifies how contacts may enable the person to gain something; through the information channels the contacts in the network constitute (cf. Bourdieu 1986).

P50: Contacts are important because somebody has heard about somebody who knows [...]. Even if you are the most unsociable person, you will still get a job because somebody has heard that you know this and that. If you know it.<sup>91</sup>

As the work language is English within the sector, there are no language barriers for the interviewee to find employment (cf. Trux 2010; Raghuram 2008). In the sector where the interviewee is active, the valued capital to gain employment is however the cultural capital. Social capital may enable the person to find paths to further employment, but the important factor is still the competence, as also Raghuram (2008) has stated.

P54: I've got interviews thanks to contacts, but then not taken the job or got the job. [...] [A friend] got my CV and sent it on to someone in his company, so I got an interview through that, [but] they looked for another kind of competence. Actually I didn't even have to go to the interview, they said, can you send an example of this code, as a coder, and because I'm not a coder [...] I wasn't that interested after all.<sup>92</sup>

Even though the interviewee tried to use a contact, the attempt failed due to the fact that her skills did not match the requirements. Thus it seems that the threshold for employment in the sector is constituted of competence. The same applies for the following example, where the interviewee tells how she gained her

first employment in Finland at a workplace where English is used as work language.

P9: When I came here, I rather quickly realised that it isn't that easy to get a job in Finland unless you know Finnish, because there are barely any companies that have their webpages in another language than Finnish. So I simply thank my lucky star that I actually got a job at [company] as easily as could be, because they happened to look for somebody with my competence. And I had somebody who gave a tip-off on that one. But that of course meant that I had to work at the headquarters [...] But that's the problem that most people have, who come here, that the only jobs you can do are these particular tasks at headquarters. And that restricts very much.<sup>93</sup>

In this case the interviewee, as in the case discussed above, got hired due to professional competence. What differs is that she had somebody who acted as a mediator between her and the company. Both the social ties and the education of the interviewed were mobilised into social and cultural capital that were recognised (Anthias 2007; Bourdieu 1986). Another case where the interviewee identified the requirements for the occupation, and thus managed to overcome them is the following:

SF: So it is still, you have learnt Finnish in such a short period of time, it is quite impressive.

P52: Mm, I felt I had to. It is a bit like, because, the first year I worked in [Swedish-speaking town], but still lived here. So it was four hours of commuting every day. So I thought that I will either commute four hours every day, or I will learn Finnish. Learning Finnish seemed easier.<sup>94</sup>

The interviewee initially only found a vacancy meeting the set standards, by broadening the geographical area and commuting to a workplace where the used language at work was Swedish. However, during the time when the interviewed was commuting, he was able to both improve his language skills, acquire recognised institutionalised cultural capital, as well as get a better picture of the field and gain social capital. Through the network of colleagues established during the time of commuting, the interviewee later found a job matching his requirements in Helsinki.

As the quotations of this section illustrate, some of the interviewees have managed to mobilise resources such as work-life experience, educational qualifications and

social networks into recognised forms of symbolic capital at the local field in Helsinki. It is thus possible to conclude that in the situations when Finnish language skills are not an obstacle for the Swedish citizens, the resources achieved in Sweden seem to be, as such, valued on the local labour market in Helsinki.

## **8 Discussion and Conclusions**

The general aim of the thesis has been to depict the processes when Swedish migrants enter the field, the local labour market in Helsinki. I have striven to, through the experiences of the interviewees, illustrate the prevailing rules and thus also identify the valued symbolic capitals on the field. In the analysis, I have discussed different assets that the interviewed Swedish citizens have recently after migration, which may be valued in the process of gaining employment in Helsinki. I have in detail discussed the structures of the social networks and ties that the interviewees have in Finland, as well as their work life and educational backgrounds. In the final chapter I have presented the reader with different strategies that have been used by the interviewees in their paths to employment.

The Swedish citizens who arrive in Helsinki are in a specific situation as they on the one hand constitute a part of the larger category of immigrants, but on the other hand blend in to the Finnish society quite well. Previous research (ex. Ahmad 2010, 2005; Valtonen 2001) has reported how immigrants struggle to find employment that would match their skills or experience after migration, but also that national background may influence how well an immigrant might be able to migrate his or her assets (Forsander 2013, 231). Statistics show that the Swedish citizens in Finland have a high employment rate (85%) in comparison both to the majority population and the larger immigrant population in general (Statistics Finland 2012b; Statistics Finland 2012c). The results of this study conform to the statistical picture of the studied group, as none of the interviewees stated that they would have stayed unemployed for long periods of time, even in the cases when the interviewed had stayed in Finland for several years.

The processes of integration to the labour market should not however be taken for granted, and the Swedish immigrants should not be overseen as an extension to

the Swedish-speaking minority. Even though the Swedish citizens hold stable positions in Finland and on the labour market, they are still not in situations comparable to the majority population. In many cases they do have to use strategies in order to gain employment, and in that way get past the rules and barriers at the Finnish labour market.

The structural barriers that immigrants to a large extent have to overcome in order to gain access to the Finnish labour market take particular shapes for the Swedish immigrants (cf. Larja et al. 2012). On the institutional level, there are inter-Nordic (The Nordic Council 1982, Nationality Act 359/2003) and EU-agreements (Aliens Act 307/2004, 10<sup>th</sup> Chapter; Makkonen and Koskenniemi 2013, 69) which facilitate migration between the two countries. Within Finland, the status of Swedish as a national language makes it possible for the interviewed to handle the communication with the authorities in their own first language (Finnish Constitution §17; Latomaa et al. 2013, 166; Makkonen and Koskenniemi 2013, 77). The Swedish citizens are also able to use their first language on the Swedish-speaking labour market, which many have used as a steppingstone to the larger Finnish-speaking community (cf. Creutz and Helander 2012). The results of this study correspond to previous research in the sense that similarities between countries of origin and destination enable the migrant to successful integration (Forsander 2013, 231; Chiswick 1978). I interpret these above discussed factors as to have had a positive influence on the paths to employment for the interviewed. The similarities between the countries should not however be perceived to guarantee an unproblematic integration to the labour market in the country of destination, as Saarela and Rooth (2006) have shown in their study on the positioning of Finnish immigrants on the labour market in Sweden.

In the interviews, different strategies have been presented on how the Swedish citizens have gained employment in Helsinki. Many of these correspond to the results of previous research on the matter (ex. Forsander 2013, 2002; Kyhä 2011; Valtonen 2001), and are based on the logic of providing the interviewees with skills, ties or resources which are valued on the field (Bourdieu 1997, 1986; Bourdieu and Johnson 1993). The interviewed have not only recognised the prevailing rules on the labour market in Helsinki, but have also taken active measures in order to improve their position by, for example participating in an

education in Finland. This way the interviewees have been able to mobilise the educational qualifications into both embodied- and institutionalised cultural capital. By acquiring an official recognition of a degree achieved in a foreign country, the interviewees have been able to attain institutionalised cultural capital that is valued on the local labour market.

Previous research (ex. Ahmad 2005; Forsander 2013, 2002) has stressed the role of social capital in migrants' paths to employment, and that contacts may compensate for a lack of other forms of recognised assets. When the resources of the migrant stay unrecognised, a personal tie may constitute a guarantee for the applicant, as has been shown to be the case for a few of the interviewed (cf. Naumanen and Silvennoinen 1996).

The interviewees themselves also identified contacts as a key element in gaining employment in Finland. Still, the interviewees had only to a limited extent used their personal connections when gaining employment in Finland. When a friend, partner or acquaintance had helped the interviewees, it was mostly by providing the interviewed with information concerning open vacancies, not acting as mediators between the workplace and the Swedish citizens (cf. Coleman 1988). Thus, generally, these connections between the Swedish citizens interviewed for this study and people tied to the labour market in Helsinki should not be defined as social capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986).

Mark Granovetter (1973) has stated that information is probable to travel through weak ties, acquaintances. Usually, the ties to Finns that the Swedish citizens possessed at the time shortly after migration were strong, as the interviewed often knew mainly their partner and perhaps the closest circle of the friends and relatives of the partners. With time, the interviewees broadened their networks and also gained access to further weak ties, which in some cases provided the interviewees with useful information, or helped them in their search for employment at a later stage. The majority of the weak ties connected the interviewees to Swedish-speaking Finns, and the weak ties to Finnish-speakers usually remained unmobilised as the interviewed lacked proficient language skills in Finnish.



The need to use unofficial channels to get past obstacles and gain employment has not been particularly big for the interviewed in this study. The experiences of the interviewed are contradict the perceived prevailing rules on the labour market in Helsinki, i.e. that contacts are the keys to employment, and that it is difficult to manage without language skills in Finnish.

Several of the interviewed Swedish citizens have managed to gain employment through official channels, i.e. by applying for a job through an advertisement. This indicates that their migrated assets actually are valued, and thus can be mobilised into symbolic capital on the labour market in Helsinki. This especially applies on the interviewees who gained employments which correspond to their skills and experience, directly after migration. In contrast to the results of Ahmad's study of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent (2010, 86-89), the interviewed Swedish citizens in Helsinki are not restricted by a limited social capital. However, as stated, the structural barriers are presumably neither as big for the Swedish citizens as they are for the immigrants from the Indian Subcontinent.

The same logic of a limited need for using resources explains the lack of contacts to other Swedish citizens in Finland of the interviewed. Whereas ethnic- or national ties may constitute important assets for other immigrant groups (cf. Wahlbeck 2010, 2007; Anthias 2007), this is not the case for the Swedish citizens interviewed for this thesis. In my understanding, the Swedish citizens do not need to maintain contact among one another, as they often arrive to an already, at least somewhat, established network at the time of migration. To know other Swedish citizens in Helsinki was not perceived to bring the person extra value on the local labour market or in the general process of integration. In some cases, contact with other Swedish citizens in Finland was even perceived to hamper the integration into Finnish society (cf. Ryan 2011, 715; Ryan et al. 2008, 683). To seek or sustain contact with other Swedish citizens only based on the notion of a common nationality, was not perceived as a big enough reason, a fact that correspond to the results of Louise Ryan's (2011) study of Polish migrants in the UK.

Based on the interviews, it seems that those Swedish citizens who have achieved employment that corresponds to their educational level and personal goals to a large extent also use their "Swedishness" as an asset in their work. Ties to Sweden

and knowledge of the society in the neighbouring country are perhaps not directly used as assets in the process of gaining employment, but within the ongoing work the interviewed use their ties on a relatively frequent basis. Also Umut Erel (2010, 651) has come to similar conclusions in her study of Turks in the UK.

Some of the interviewed Swedish citizens possess social capital that flows in the opposite direction than my initial thoughts and questions. The Swedish citizens have a network in Sweden, which the employer or the workplace in Finland may gain from, through the interviewed. Thus these contacts ought to have provided the interviewees with extra value in the situation of employment. The Swedish employees can therefore constitute social capital for the employers, even though the same contacts do not constitute social capital for the employees.

In the interviews there were also a few cases where the interviewees had found work in which his or her national background was equal to the competence that the employer explicitly expected or wanted. As language teachers for companies, the interviewees were able to mobilise their nationality and first language into embodied cultural capital, which was valued and requested. Language skills in Swedish were also perceived as an asset in other parts of the field, such as the care-work sector. Being Swedish can thus in some cases be defined as bringing extra value to the applicant, and can in some situations be mobilised into both social and cultural capital (Anthias 2007; Bourdieu 1986).

This thesis has contributed to the sociological- and social scientific discussion on immigrants and employment in the Finnish, and especially the local – Helsinki setting, by a description of the strategies used by a group which has not been studied in this context before. Through the voices of the interviewed this study illustrates experiences of the prevailing rules on the field, by identifying resources that can be mobilised into symbolic capital on the labour market in Helsinki. By placing the focus of the study on an immigrant group which manage well on the labour market, it has been possible to, from the perspective of outsiders active on the inside, gain information from a new perspective.

To conclude one can state that the interviewed Swedish citizens to a certain extent follow the same strategies as other immigrant groups, in their paths to employment in Helsinki. The interviewees have recognised the required skills, and have taken measures in order to gain access to, or achieve these. The Swedish citizens have gained employment in entry level job sectors, and some have also used ethno-specific labour markets as steppingstones. However, the sectors in which the Swedes are active are different than the usual “immigrant sectors” (cf. Urban 2013; Kyhä 2011; Wahlbeck 2007; Forsander 2002). Furthermore, the processes of gaining employment for the Swedish citizens interviewed for this study are rather smooth, and they actively use the Swedish-speaking labour market as a gateway. This also enables them to gain employment that corresponds to their expectations. The Swedish citizens have to a great extent mobilised their migrated assets, their educational qualifications, their work life experiences, their language skills, and in some cases even their own nationality into symbolic capital.

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## Appendix I: Research Letter

Hej XXX!

Jag heter Sabina Fortelius och jobbar som forskningsassistent för universitetslektor Östen Wahlbeck i hans projekt Svenska invandrare i Finland, och skriver min magistersavhandling i sociologi i samband med det. Jag fick din e-mailadress av XXX som tipsade om dej.

För tillfället söker jag arbetande, svenska medborgare i huvudstadsregionen som jag kunde intervju. Därför undrar jag om du skulle vilja ställa upp för en intervju och dela med dej av dina erfarenheter som svensk på den finländska arbetsmarknaden.

Inom forskningsprojektet intervjuas ca 40 personer, varav 10 intervjuer utförs av mej och specifikt knyts till min magistersavhandling. Jag söker alltså svenskspråkiga svenska medborgare som inte är födda i Finland, och som har bott i landet mellan ett och ca fem år.

Forskningsfrågorna berör i korthet teman så som migrationshistoria, identitet och etnicitet samt kontakter med finlandssvenskar och finskspråkiga i Finland. Mer detaljerade frågor om dina erfarenheter av att söka och få jobb i Finland kommer även att diskuteras.

Intervjuns längd beror på dina intressen, önskemål och tillgängliga tid, men den ungefärliga tänkta tiden är en timme. Jag kan vara flexibel. Intervjuerna är öppna halvstrukturerade intervjuer där vi fritt diskuterar ovannämnda teman. Alla informanter förblir anonyma.

Projektet finansieras och administreras av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland. En kort beskrivning av projektet finns här:

[http://www.sls.fi/doc.php?\\*\\*category=5&docid=772](http://www.sls.fi/doc.php?**category=5&docid=772)

Jag hoppas projektet låter intressant och jag är mycket tacksam om du kan ställa upp för en intervju.

Ifall du vill ha närmare information om avhandlingen eller intervjun svarar jag gärna på dina frågor.

Med vänlig hälsning

Sabina Fortelius  
XXX

## Appendix II: Interview Guide

### Intro:

- Min forskningsfråga gäller svenskars placering på den finska arbetsmarknaden, hur svenskar får jobb och hur det kan vara att vara en arbetssökande svensk i Finland.
- Gradun del av Universitetslektor Östen Wahlbecks forskningsprojekt Svenska Invandrare i Finland – etniska relationer i mötet mellan svenskt och finskt, finansierat av SLS
- Jag kommer att banda in och transkribera, anonymisera både text och ljudfiler, ta bort något ifall du vill
- Intervjuerna kommer att sparas enligt SLS policy, 20 års embargo på ljudfilerna, transkriptionerna officiella efter att projektet avslutats
- Du har möjligheten att avbryta eller gå tillbaka till någon fråga, eller lämna frågor obesvarade ifall du inte vill svara, respondentens villkor

### Bakgrundsinformation

- Medborgarskap
- Födelseland
- Födelseort
- Språk i befolkningsregistret
- Mantalsskrivningskommun
- Familj?
  - gift/partner/barn
  - (Medborgarskap o. modersmål)
- Arbete nu?
- (kön, ålder)

### Migration

- När flyttade du stadigvarande till Finland?
- Vad var orsaken till att du flyttade till Finland?
  - Kan du berätta om bakgrunden till att du flyttade, hur kom det sig att du flyttade till Finland
  - Hade du varit i Finland tidigare?
  - Vad visste du om Finland före du flyttade hit?

### Språk

- Vilka är dina språkkunskaper (självupplevda)
- Språkanvändning,
  - Vilka språk var?
    - (hemma? På jobbet? Fritidsintressen?)
    - Svenska; var och med vem?
    - Finska; var och med vem?
    - Engelska; var och med vem?

### Utbildning



- I vilket land har du gått i skola?
- I vilket land har du studerat?
- Din utbildningsnivå/ examen?
- Har du gjort en officiell anmälan om erkännande av din utbildning/yrke?
- Har du gått någon vidareutbildning i samband med arbete?
  - Hurdan utbildning?
  - Var?
  - Hur fick du reda på utbildningen?
  - Hade du nytta av den?

### **Svensk/finsk/finlandssvensk/rikssvensk**

#### **Finlandssvensk och Svenskfinland**

- Känner du någon/många finlandssvenskar/svenskspråkiga finländare?
  - Hur har du lärt känna dem?
  - (om Fi-sv. partner, fråga om partners roll) Noggranna förklaringar
  - Är du med i någon svenskspråkig organisation i Finland? Vilken då? Är du aktiv? (berätta)
  - Medborgarinstitut – Arbis, Luckan
    - Vad gör du där?
    - Har du haft någon nytta? Vad? Konkreta exempel?
  - Hobbyer på svenska?
  - Läser du Fi-sv. dagstidningar? Finlandssvensk television (FST5)? Annan finlandssvensk media?
  - Varför har du så mycket/lite kontakt med svenskspråkiga?

#### **Finsk och finskhet**

- Känner du någon/många finskspråkiga finländare?
  - Hur har du lärt känna dem?
  - (om finsk partner, fråga om partners roll)
  - Är du med i någon finskspråkig organisation i Finland? Vilken då? Är du aktiv? (berätta)
  - Medborgarinstitut
    - Vad gör du där?
    - Har du haft någon nytta? Vad? Konkreta exempel?
  - Hobbyer på finska?
  - Läser du finska dagstidningar? finsk television? Annan finskspråkig media?
  - Varför har du så mycket/lite kontakt med finskspråkiga?

### **Kontakter med andra utlänningar i Finland?**

- Känner du många andra utlänningar i Finland
- Hur har du lärt känna dem?
- Organisation för utlänningar i Finland?
- Hobbyer på engelska?
- Mediakonsumtion på engelska?

- Känner du andra svenskar i Finland?
  - Varför/inte?
  - Hur lärt känna dem?
  - Har du aktivt sökt upp andra?
    - Varför/inte?

### **Rikssvenska föreningar i Finland?**

Varför tror du att din uppsättning av vänner ser ut som den gör?

#### **Identitet**

- Tycker du själv att du är "svensk"?
  - Varför/varför inte? Vill du vara "svensk"? I vilka situationer?
- Tycker du själv att du är "rikssvensk"? ("sverigesvensk")
  - Varför/varför inte? Vill du vara "rikssvensk"? I vilka situationer?
- Tycker du själv att du är finlandssvensk?
  - Varför/varför inte? Vill du vara finlandssvensk? I vilka situationer?
- Tycker du själv att du är "finsk"?
  - Varför/varför inte? Vill du vara "finsk"? I vilka situationer?
- Hur skulle du själv beskriva dig för någon du möter för första gången? (svensk/rikssvensk/finlandssvensk/finsk?). Är det alltid samma? I vilka situationer? Hur beskriver du dig i de sammanhang som beskrivits ovan?
- Har det skett förändringar över tid i hur du skulle presentera dig? Hur då?

#### **Arbetserfarenhet**

- Kan du berätta om din tidigare arbetserfarenhet, vad har du haft för jobb?
  - På vilket språk har jobben gått?
  - Motsvarar jobben din utbildningsnivå?
- Har du jobbat utomlands?

#### **Att komma in i arbetslivet**

- Kronologiskt gå igenom, jobb för jobb
  - Hur har du fått reda på lediga jobb?
    - MOL/ Annonser/ internet/ tidning/ headhunt/ bekant/facebook/annat?
  - Vet du varför **du** fick jobbet?
  - Vet du varför du fick just **det** jobbet?
  - Fick du hjälp av någon?
  - Hur då, berätta mer, hur gick det till?
  - Hur känner du personerna som hjälpt?
  - Något specifikt du vill anmärka på gällande ansökningsprocessen eller hur du fått jobben?
- Hur har du fått ditt nuvarande jobb?
  - Hur fick du veta om jobbet?
    - Vad tror du har haft störst inverkan på hur du fick reda på att jobbet var ledigt?
  - Fick du hjälp av någon?

- Släkt?
  - Varför just den personen?
- Hur då, berätta mer, hur gick det till?
- Tycker du att du fått jobbet på ett typiskt sätt?
- Något specifikt du vill anmärka på/var avvikande gällande ansökningsprocessen eller hur du fått jobbet?
- Vilka faktorer tror du att har haft en inverkan på hur du fått jobb i Finland?
  - Officiella dokument, ex. skattenummer för arbetare i byggnadsbranschen
- Har du stött på problem då du sökt jobb i Finland?
  - Hurdana problem?
  - Varför?
  - Hur har de lösts ifall de lösts?
- Har du sökt många jobb (som du inte fått) i Finland?
  - Hur har du gjort då?
  - Vad tror du det beror på?
  - I jämförelse med de jobb du fått, finns det likheter/skillnader?
  - Tycker du det skett någon förändring över tid?
  - Om du tänker tillbaka, finns det något du skulle göra på ett annat sätt idag?
- Har du bett om hjälp för att komma in på arbetsmarknaden i Finland?
  - Arbetskraftsbyrån?
  - Varför/inte?
- Har du fått hjälp för att få reda på jobb/få lediga jobb?
  - Frågade du om hjälp?
- Nätverk
  - Har du använt dej av nätverk *för att få* jobb i Finland?
    - Ifall ja, hurdana nätverk?
    - Hur gick du till väga?
    - Hur kom du i kontakt med nätverken?
    - hur/ på vilket sätt gick du till väga då du fick jobb via nätverk?
      - Bekant gav jobb?
      - Bekant rekommenderade dej för ett specifikt ledigt jobb?
      - Bekant tipsade om ledigt jobb?
      - Annat sätt?
- Tycker du det finns en skillnad mellan dina olika umgängeskretsar/nätverk?
  - Vilka kontakter är användbara i arbetssammanhang?
  - Varför just dessa?
  - Jämför dej själv med dina utländska kompisar

- Kan du använda dej av kontakter för att komma vidare i arbetslivet/nå något i arbetslivet idag?
  - Varför/inte?
  - Vilka kontakter?
  - Hur lärt känna dem, kommit i kontakt?
- Tillhör du något professionellt nätverk?
  - Hur har du kommit in?
  - Har du haft någon nytta?
    - På vilket sätt kan du använda dej av kontakterna?
    - Varför inte någon nytta?
      - Har andra inom nätverket använt sig av det?
        - Varför inte du?

### **Att vara svensk på den finska arbetsmarknaden**

- Om jag säger så, vad innebär det för dej, hur tolkar du det?
  - Är du "svensk" på arbetsmarknaden i Finland?
  - Ifall inte, varför, och hur identifierar du dej?
- Ifall ja:
  - Har det faktum att du är svensk någon inverkan på hur du kommer/kommit in på arbetsmarknaden i Finland?
  - Hur har det inverkat, konkretisera
  - Positiva aspekter av att vara svensk på arbetsmarknaden i Finland?
    - Då du sökt ett jobb i Finland?
  - Negativa aspekter av att vara svensk på arbetsmarknaden i Finland?
    - Då du sökt ett jobb i Finland?

...

- Känner du svenskar i Finland som du kunde be om hjälp av för att hitta eller få ett jobb?
  - Hurdana nätverk eller kontakter? Beskriv
  - Hur har du kommit i kontakt med de här svenskarna?
  - Har du använt dej av de här kontakterna?
  - Varför/ inte?
- Har du hjälpt någon annan svensk på arbetsmarknaden i Finland?
  - Hur då?
  - Varför inte
- Tycker du att man kan tala om en svensk invandrargrupp i Finland?
- Tror du det finns en skillnad mellan svenskar och andra etniska/invandrargrupper i hur personer får veta om lediga jobb?
  - Hurdana skillnader?
  - Hur är svenskarna i förhållande till andra, beskriv
  - Varför?
  - (Om du jämför dej med dina utländska kompisar?)

**Kontakt med Sverige i arbetslivet**

- Har du kontakt med Sverige via ditt jobb?
  - I vilken form?
    - Hur ofta?
    - Besöker du Sverige?
    - Besök från Sverige?
  - Nej; Varför inte?
- Har du någon personlig nytta av att ha kontakt/samarbete med Sverige?
  - Finns det något du tycker att du kan bidra med?
- Har du i någon situation använt dej av kontakter i Sverige för att nå något i arbetslivet i Finland?

**Framtid och avslutning**

- Hur ser dina framtidsplaner ut?
  - Jobb
  - Civila?
- Tips i fortsättningen, råd för arbetssökande svenskar
  - Ifall du skulle få nämna tre konkreta tips för en nyanländ svensk som försöker komma in på den finska arbetsmarknaden, vilka skulle det vara? VARFÖR just dessa?

**Övrigt att tillägga, något jag glömt att fråga?**

Känner du någon jag kunde kontakta och intervjua?

## Appendix III: List of Quotations in Original Form

- 1 SF: Har den här lett till en examen den här [...]utbildningen?
- P51: Neej, jag fick fast jobb innan jag var färdig, [...] Allt annat har jag liksom tagit alla poäng, det är den där sista lilla, tiopoängsuppsatsen som saknas. Kanske en dag... Men det är ju ett hantverksyrke, så att, har man väl fått fast jobb så, rullar det liksom på.
- 2 P48: jag minns fortfarande deras reaktion, [...]Men, varför ska du till Finland då? Jag minns den frågan, varför ska du till Finland? Vad har du där att göra liksom. Och jag vet inte om hon tyckte att är du dum i huvudet som flyttar dit, eller varför kommer du till Finland liksom.
- 3 P53: innan jag träffade min fru så var jag väl ganska, omedveten som de flesta svenskar är. Om Finland.
- 4 P44: Det är inte såhär... Alltså alla åker ju till Thailand och hittar sig själv på någon Party-moon-ö, men att man kan också bara åka lite grann.
- 5 P47: Ja, det var, jag flyttade hit för kärleken, det är ju oftast så kanske.
- 6 P1: Man skulle kunna säga att det är the main reason för att jag flyttade hit.
- 7 P52: Vi träffades för tio år sedan, i [...] av alla ställen faktiskt. [...] Sedan flyttade jag till [...], och då flyttade han med mej. Ja så vi bodde där i 6 år, och sedan beslöt vi oss att flytta tillbaka till antingen Sverige eller Finland, så blev det Finland.
- 8 P52: Jag träffade min fru [...] av en slump här [...], och så bara träffades vi och, sedan så ett år senare så flyttade jag till hit. [...] då så följde jag med bara för jag hade några kompisar som var med, så då träffades vi så det var helt helt slumpmässigt.
- 9 P49: Det var via min fru, att hon, hon också liksom, hon har berättat vad det finns liksom, för olika, sätt att komma in i samhället här.
- 10 P9: För varje år som går, så bygger man ju ut sitt nätverk genom massa olika kanaler. Men det var nog till en början var jag väldigt väldigt starkt genom min man.
- 11 P53: Ja alltså, de flesta finländska kontakter jag har alltså över huvudtaget är ju genom min fru.
- 12 P47: Det är nog mycket det som jag sade. Att min fru är helt finsk. Det är nog mycket det det beror på. [...] hade hon haft ett finlandssvenskt ursprung, då hade det varit annat.
- 13 P5: Som jag umgås med? Då måste jag nästan säga finskspråkiga, eller ja, via då min kille blir det. Så det blir mer finskspråkiga.
- 14 P2: Men sen att det var väldigt tufft när man kom hit, det var, det hade jag ju räknat med också, men kanske inte lika tufft som det skulle vara, för att jag kom på hösten och jag började inte plugga förrän januari sedan, så det var tre-fyra månader som jag i princip inte gjorde nånting, och ju mer man var hemma desto svårare blev det att gå ut och hitta på nånting alldeles själv, [...] När man var ändå alldeles själv så blev det så lätt att isolera sig och tänka men gud vad har jag gjort och oj jag känner ingen här förutom [...] och han kommer tröttna på mej för att jag ska bara hänga med honom hela tiden för jag har inga egna vänner och. Så det var tufft i början.
- 15 SF: Och via henne har du kommit i kontakt med Finlandssvenskar.
- P48: JA, det kan man lugnt säga. Via henne och via studierna [...] som har stått för mycket av den Finlandssvenska kontakten.
- 16 P2: Och sen de flesta vännerna är svenskspråkiga i och med att man har lärt känna många på [...] eller, även jag har läst biämne på [...] också, så då har det varit helsvenskt också
- 17 P47: Alltså de flesta har man ju gjort sig bekanta med via jobbet så klart.
- 18 P49: Alltså jag är ju med i en.. Föreningen [...], och där är det, alltså det är ju just, svenskspråkigt [...] Så där via känner jag väl de flesta som jag känner i, i Finland.
- 19 P45: Det har ju varit väldigt stor hjälp liksom att det finns en sådan svenskspråkig liksom, värld här, faktiskt.
- 20 P52: Jag skulle säga att finlandssvenskar är väldigt sociala och öppna och välkomnande, och jag har blivit fantastiskt väl mottagen och alla har varit jätte jätte, vänliga och

- 
- inkluderande, [...] För mej som att den finlandssvenska kulturen är väldigt öppen och välkomnande. [...] Och det är bra, ska jag säga, bra, en bra plattform att börj, det är ganska stort privilegium att kunna flytta till ett nytt land och ändå kunna tala sitt eget språk och därmed så har man, ska man säga, man behöver inte hoppa rakt ner i det nya, utan man kan liksom ha en, trevlig trygg plattform och därifrån lära sig finska, till exempel. Och, få finska vänner och så. Så att jag skulle säga att det har varit en jättejätte bra sak, passat mej jättebra.
- 21 P9: Många kom ju hit för kärlekens skull, och är det en finlandssvensk, så då brukar ju saken lösa sig ganska automatiskt, ibland tycker jag lite synd om de som kommer hit och är då tillsammans med en finskspråkig och som helt hamnar utanför det här underbara finlandssvenska nätverket.
- 22 P53: Ja det är liksom att eftersom de flesta då finlandssvenskar de går i de här små skolorna, de har en gemenskap, sådär som, eftersom inte jag kommer från den det hållet så, det känns ju jätte, svårt att komma in i den.
- 23 P46: Jag har väl inte aktivt letat, efter dem kanske, men, jag har förstått at de håller sig lite i klungor, så
- 24 P51: Alltså det är ju alltid lättare om man känner någon. Och sedan är det ju, sen hänger ju väldigt mycket på också vilka referenser man får. Man bränner lätt sina broar om man missköter sig. Är man bränd på ett ställe så kan man i princip säga att man är bränd på alla finlandssvenska [...] Därför att alla känner varandra i, i inom [...] folk går mellan [...] och [...] och kanske [...], men, den här rotationen liksom gör ju ändå att, många känner varandra [...] så att, det är nog lätt att bränna sina broar om man inte sköter sig. Och samtidigt är det ju också lättare att få jobb någon annanstans om man sköter sig.
- 25 P48: Här inom Svenskfinland så vet ju alltså folk verkligen genuint vem du är. Det är inte bara det där att du har en kompis som känner dej, utan är det så att en kompis nämner dej, då vet minst tre andra vem du är exakt via nån annan. Det är jätteläskigt. Det är väl tveeggat. Jag har, det vi har haft den här diskussionen med många just Finlandssvenska kompisar, som säger att [...] utnyttja själva, att nätverket finns, men låt det inte liksom sänkas av det, [...] Jag känner ett visst obehag för det för att man flyter in som en slags tjänst, och blir skyldig nån en tjänst nån gång som kan komma och försöka inkassera den och ett, betar du dej fel under den här processen så kan det sedan förstöra din framtid. Gör du rätt, fine, gör du fel, så är du körd.
- 26 P1: Alltså, nästan, inte så många finska, [...] Men alltså det närmsta jag har är ju liksom [...] kompisar.
- 27 SF: Hur har du lärt känna dem, är det just via den här hemsidan eller?
- P46: Jo, de första, och sedan vidare, genom de jag kände först och sedan genom att jag träffat dem bara ute på krogen. Mycket på krogen.
- 28 SF: Jo nå det är egentligen min nästa fråga, att känner du många finskspråkiga?
- P49: Inte så jättemånga, men jag känner några stycken, som sagt liksom att det är just det här, de här nästa leds, vänner att det är mina arbetskompisars fruar och män och pojkvänner och flickvänner så att det är.. Och sådär och jag känner väl en granne till oss som bor här och är finskspråkig.
- 29 SF: Jo. Vad tror du att det beror på?
- P50: Dels för att jag inte uttryckligen blir kompis med folk för att de är finlandssvenskar. Som till exempel min kompis som är väldigt aktiv i de kretsarna har försökt att dra med mej på olika saker, ja men de pratar svenska där och så, men jag tycker att ja men är det inte intressant ändå, det finns ingen anledning att bli kompis med folk beroende på vilket språk det är. Så att jag har aldrig liksom försökt att ta mej in, eller jag har aldrig försökt att bli kompis med någon på grund av det. Och dels är det på grund av [...], och för att vi hade ett ganska stort umgänge redan innan vi flyttade hit, som inte var finlandssvenskt. Så då givetvis så är det ju de kompisar vi har nu.
- 30 P46: De finskspråkiga jag känner är väl, har väl, vetat jobb som varit lediga, men de har alltid varit bara för finskspråkiga. Så det har inte, det har inte varit till någon hjälp.

- 31 P48: Jag har ju inget behov av att umgås med svenskar. Vad ska jag göra med dem liksom? Det är ju trevligt, jag kan prata med dem, jag kan prata med min fru eller jag kan prata med mina kompisar, så att nej. Jag har inget behov av det.
- 32 P53: Man får ju liksom stöd ifrån samhället här. Det är ju liksom att du får ju dina blanketter på svenska, du behöver liksom inte ha någon kompis som kan bättre finska som kan hjälpa dej med sådana saker så att. Det är väl det sociala behovet är väl inte lika stort.
- 33 P53: En av mina anledningar till att flytta till Finland var för att lära mig finska [...] det var ju ingen, skulle liksom hänga med de andra svenskarna hela tiden, det känns ju lite ovägt.
- 34 P50: Kanske för att det är Finland, och för att det är ganska nära, det finns, jag känner inte nån längtan efter nånting svenskt här. Det finns [...] inget i Sverige som jag inte kan få här.
- 35 SF: Tycker du att du fått dina jobb på typiskt sätt? Är det så man får jobb i Finland?
- P44: Nämen det vet jag ju inte, alltså, typiskt sätt... Jag tror faktiskt att idag så är det nog mer att man, rekommenderar folk, sök det här, vi vill gärna att du söker. Så att på det sättet tror jag att jag inte är typisk, att det här klassiska, traditionella sättet. Och jag tror att det finns, [...] okej det lediganslås, kanske för att det måste, men det är egentligen avgjort, för att man ju har en intern rekrytering. Att man tipsar och, nätverkande och.. personliga kontakter. Så att på det sättet tror jag att jag är väldigt otypisk. Ja.
- 36 P48: Jag tror att i det stora hela [...] så fungerar det nog mer med kontakter, [...] Jag är övertygad om att ska du jobba på Nokia eller ska du jobba på inom bank eller nån sådan här liksom, lite bättre jobb, så tror jag nog att det är ganska lätt att bli inlyft via kontakter.
- 37 P46: Jag skulle säga, att leta bland kontakter. Så mycket som möjligt. Det, fråga alla alla alla som du känner, fråga folk du inte känner också. [...]. Men, kontakter kontakter kontakter, skulle jag säga.
- 38 P48: Så fort man skapar sig en kontakt, var inte rädd för att fråga.
- 39 P52: Det tycker jag, det är ju, tycker jag nästan är dumt att inte fråga av dem kontakter man har, att liksom se vad det, finns för möjligheter. För det, jag har ju ingen möjlighet att veta det heller, när jag kommer utifrån.
- 40 P46: Det som borde ha inverkan, borde ju vara, utbildning, arbetserfarenhet och så kanske språk. Och för mej så är det språket som är problemet, för att jag har utbildning och jag har arbetslivserfarenhet, inom min utbildning. Men, så kan jag ju inte finska. Och då, där kör det sig.
- 41 P52: För att få ett jobb, i Finland, lär dej finska.
- 42 P44: Och så lära sig finska, [...] Inte ge upp med finskan heller, att det liksom även om det går trögt så ge inte upp det.
- 43 P53: Ja, alltså bara, rent krasst så är det väl att lära sig finska. Skulle jag säga. Det, det här i Helsingfors. I alla fall. Om inte annat, det kanske inte är ett måste, man kanske inte måste kunna tala finska på, i samtliga tjänster men, däremot så det ser ju bättre ut.
- 44 P49: Kan man finska så då finns det ju hur mycket jobb som helst. Eller sådär om man jämför. Med vad som finns på bara svenska.
- 45 P9: Det är ju ett oändligt gissel, att det finns en massa massa saker jag skulle kunna göra, i Sverige [...], eller var som helst, som jag inte kan här. Därför ...?... begränsat, för att jag kan liksom bara arbeta på engelska eller svenska.
- 46 P1: Jag har försökt läsa lite kurser på [...] men den behövde jag sluta för att jag började med, började jobba och sedan har jag läst några kvällskurser på Arbis, men de har varit relativt dåliga tycker jag. Så nu den sista har jag också hoppat av. [...] Finskan kommer ändå, jobbet kommer kanske först, sen kommer liksom fritidsintressen och längst bak kommer finskan.
- 47 P52: Jag har tagit lektioner på, privatlektioner i finska så att jag har liksom haft en lärare som har varit efter min kunskapsnivå [...]. Så det har varit jättejättebra.



- 48 P50: Eller rättare sagt, man behöver inte lära sig, man behöver inte ens vara speciellt, plugga speciellt mycket, men att bara säga till folk att jag går på finskakurs och jag är genuint intresserad av att lära mej finska, det är ett massivt plus!
- 49 P52: Men det är ju, jag vet ju folk som har arbetat i Finland i sex-sju år som kan säga, *kylle*, och det är allting i stort sett, så det det tycker inte jag är, nåt bra, så skulle inte jag vilja ha det. [...] bor man i ett land då ska man liksom ha hela biten. Annars är det lätt att bli isolerad, tycker jag. Så att, så skulle jag säga.
- 50 P48: Glöm det där med utbildning! För att jag var jätterädd för det där i början när jag fick höra det shit alla här är typ magistrar och du får inget jobb om du inte typ har minst sju utbildningar och har klart alla papper och... [...] men så är det ju sen inte fallet. Det är ju kontakter, kontakter och kontakter och personlighet.
- 51 P48: Jag förstår mej inte på Finlandssvensk humor, jag har jättestora problem med det, jag har till och med sagt det på ett sådant där kvartssamtal som jag har haft [...] när man ska liksom du vet, vad har du för problem på jobbet? Jag förstår inte vad folk tycker att är kul! Och vad folk inte tycker är kul. Så att jag kan säkert trampa folk på tårna, jag kan säkert uppfattas som jättetråkig, men det är mest för att jag sitter, bara, ah- jag ska skratta.
- 52 P54: Att jag är kvinna är ett litet hinder. Men om ungefär 15 år, när alla gamla gubbarna har pensionerats, då jävlar! Så det är en sådan där grej som man känner lite att det börjar hända saker, det börjar ruckas på det, men det är fortfarande lite sådär, mm, ja men du kan ju inte vara tekniskt lagd, du är ju tjej, och svensk, och pratsam! Åh! Minus minus minus! Så helst ska man ju vara då, gubbe, som har jobbat i ett datorlabb i hela sitt liv och har på en gammal Kiss-tour 1984-tshirt och så... Och så ska man vara grumpy och ... helst.
- 53 P44: Men det är ju det som är också Sverige och Finland, [...] att det är ganska lika på en sån här (*visar vågrät linje i luften*) men sedan kommer man liksom djupare ner, då skiljer det sig. Men det är svårt att sätta fingret på exakt vad det är, som är den här stora skillnaden.
- 54 P47: Man hade ju funderat om man skulle behöva komma hit och gå på nån sådan arbetsförmedling här också, men det löste ju sig innan man kom till det.
- 55 P44: Jag har aldrig fått någon sådan här integrations-, aldrig blivit integrerad, liksom fått hjälp, utan jag har nog, tagit reda på saker själv, men sedan är det ju viktigt att jag har ju redan ett nätverk innan jag flyttade hit, så har jag ju naturligtvis min, [...] hjälper mej [...] jag tror att jag haft det lättare på det sättet.
- 56 P47: Kanske första hand skulle jag nog be hjälp av min fru, i och med att jag har de resurserna, men annars så om man som ensamstående då vore nog alltså arbetsförmedlingen.
- 57 P53: Det var, det var en annons på, Aarresaari, som jag brukar titta på, lite då och då.
- 58 P48: Jag tror det var nätet där, att det var nog deras databank, där alltså MOL.fi [...] så det var via deras databas, som jag hittade det här jobbet, jag satt alltid, jag hade det som rutin att jag gick på morgonen och så, plöjde jag igenom annonsen och se om det var nåt nytt.
- 59 P52: Jag googlade lite, och tittade på svenskspråkig [...] Finland och så, och såg vad som, vilka områden som fanns.
- 60 SF: hur fick du reda på de här jobben som du sökte?  
P50: Monster, internet.
- 61 P44: Det vet jag faktiskt inte [...] men det var säkert i Husis också, det var ju ett off, eller om han hade sett det på MOL? [...] För det var han som sade att sök nu det här! [...] Men jag vet inte hur [...] fick reda på det faktiskt. Vilka kanaler.
- 62 P50: Jag misstänker att om man har haft ett jobb i Finland, så är det lättare att få nästa. För då har man liksom fått, stämpeln på sej att, approved by the Finnish society. Litegrann. Och det är viktigt. Så att, sök jobb på alla levlar och var inte så, jag är ingenjör så jag vill bara ta ingenjörsjobb. [...] alltså, ta det! Det första.
- 63 P45: Just [...] tror jag att det är ganska typiskt, att bara få jobb så. Det finns säkert andra branscher där det är svårare. Jag har no, de, ... svenska bekanta som jobbar här, har nog ändå talat om hur, att det är ganska svårt, särskilt om man har en högre utbildning så är det väldigt svårt att få ett, jobb som motsvarar det.

- 64 SF: Har du funderat alls på att liksom fortsätta inom [...]?
- R4: Näe, det är väl inte, det är väl inte riktigt vad jag vill hålla på med. Det är mest för att, ha en inkomst just nu. [...] Men nej, alltså jag vill ju hålla på med [...]. Det är vad jag vill och det är där jag har suttit massor med och utbildat mej. Så, det är det jag vill göra.
- 65 P49: Men sedan så, börjar man igen sortera ut, vad finns det som man bara talar svenska, [...] var klarar jag mej utan finskan?
- 66 P49: Och när jag kom hit så skrev jag helt enkelt, det finns någon sida på internet som heter svensk skola och dagvård, tror jag. [...] Så jag tog helt enkelt och skrev mejl till allihopa.[...] Det tog två timmar så ringde de upp mej, och sade att jag skulle komma på intervju [...] Sedan började jag jobba liksom tre dagar senare. [...]Och det var, jag kommer inte ihåg hur många det var som ringde upp mej, alltså jag skickade ju som sagt till alla svenskspråkiga ställen, och jag vet inte om det var någån, jag tror det var, tretton stycken som ringde upp.
- 67 SF: Tycker du att du har fått dina nuvarande, eller de här jobben som du har haft nu, på ett typiskt sätt liksom, är det så man får ett jobb i Finland?
- P46: Det känns inte som att det är så man ska få ett jobb. Det känns som att det normala är att man söker via en annons, och så får man komma på intervju och så får man kanske jobbet, det här har mer varit som att, det är nästan som att de har liksom, hittat mej, snarare, nästan. [...] Det känns inte som att jag har behövt göra nånting. För att få de här jobben. Och det känns lite konstigt när jag har sökt och jobbat så mycket för att söka andra jobb, och ansträngt mej, och så de här jobben som jag inte ansträngt mej alls för att få, dem får jag. Så det känns... Det känns väldigt bakvänt. Det gör det.
- 68 P46: Och sedan fick jag det här [...]jobbet i höstas, och det fick jag via min partner som jobbar på samma [...]. Så [...] frågade dem om de behövde nån, och så ringde de upp mej och sade att ja..
- SF: Jaja, så han frågade då explicit att om det fanns nånting ledigt för dej?
- P46: Ja. [...] Så, de ringde upp mej och sade att du kan komma hit och jobba här. Och sedan [...]jobbet fick jag genom min käämpis. [...] sade att de behövde folk, så då ...?.. och mejlade dem och.. Sade att jag kände [...] och sådär, och så fick jag det. Så jag är, egentligen inte, jag har inte fått nåt jobb som jag faktiskt har sökt, utan jag har fått jobb genom kontakter. Enbart.
- 69 SF: Du har ingen i din bekantskapskrets heller som skulle ha kontakter vidare eller såhär? Inom ditt område?
- R4: Jag har försökt ta reda på om det är så, men det verkar inte vara så. Så att jag vet inte, får jag rätt på nån som, som jobbar, försöka bli vän med dem, jag vet inte vad jag ska göra.
- 70 P44: Mmmm, det är ett enkelt sätt att också få in en fot också, [...] för det är också en sak det här med språk, alltså om min finska inte alls är så bra, så är väl min starka sida svenskan. Att det är den man får liksom lyfta fram.
- 71 P53: Jag hade aldrig jobbat som lärare innan så, det stod ju att, okej, lärarutbildning är väl positivt, men det är inget krav, utan det där kravet var ju då att man skulle ha, ha komma från Sverige. Och sedan då när jag kom på intervju så var det nej det är inga problem att du inte är lärarutbildad, men det är liksom den här sociala kompetensen.
- 72 P47: Jag är [...] till yrket. [...] När jag skulle flytta hit så var et ju att jag sökte om sådan här, vad det nu heter, Valvira har ju någon sådan att de, de tar min examen och ser då att den är passande för den finska, och det är ju inga problem med det, nordiska länderna, för det är ju i stort sett samma sak.
- 73 P52: Jag trodde faktiskt att jag var legitimerad i Finland under ett helt års tid, tills nån påpekade att, nej jag sökte nytt jobb så sade min nya chef att vänta lite nu, du är inte, du är bara, här som [...], som det hette då, så det var lite av en överraskning, det har varit lite svårt att få reda på, sådana saker tycker jag sådär.
- 74 P53: Om man har gått [...]utbildning på magisternivå i Finland, så kan man anmäla sig som auktoriserad [...], om man kommer utomlands ifrån måste man göra ett prov. [...] Alla utländska [...]utbildningar är liksom, betyder såhär, nada för den där auktoriseringen här i Finland.

- 75 P53: Som det ser ut nu så kommer jag att fortsätta att vara egenföretagare och då spelare  
det ingen större roll var jag bor egentligen, men som sagt, jag är väldigt öppen för om jag  
skulle kunna få en anställning nånstans som [...] eller på nåt annat sätt, där mina [...]  
behövs.
- 76 P49: Nej, men jag ska nu börja på ett läroavtal. [...]Just för att som utbildad så har man  
inte fast tjänst, och det, man har inget jobb på sommaren och det, och sedan också få den  
teoretiska basen på det man jobbar med, att det, är främst därför.
- 77 P48: Men det var en av anledningarna till att jag valde, just [...] och just [...] därför att [...]  
intresserar mej, och jag visste att det är så pass yrkesorienterat att chansen att jag ska få  
praktik skulle vara större än om jag skulle gå en rent teoretisk utbildning.
- 78 P48: Alltså [...] menar att de går mer på liksom typer, personlighetstyper än vad folk kan  
nödvändigtvis, och jag tror att jag sticker ut så pass mycket är en av de äldsta där, jag är  
svensk, jag har markant annorlunda intressen än många andra där. Jag är liksom av en  
annan personlig. som jag tror att på sätt och vis är nyttigt att ha där, för att de behöver nån  
som inte är som alla andra.
- 79 P53: Det är ju eftersom vi är geografiskt spridna även i Sverige, så är ju kontakten mycket  
per mejl. [...] Och det är ju också så att om när det gäller [...] så är det ju att Sverige är ju den  
största marknaden också. Och det är ju där de flesta aktiva finns.
- 80 P53: Och det har inte så stor betydelse i vilket land jag befinner mej, för att de flesta av  
mina kunder är inom resten av Europa [...] Men mitt kontaktnät inom branschen är ju  
störst i Sverige.
- 81 P47: Det är väl lite, man har kontakt med gamla kolleger och sådär. Men inte nå mer än så,  
studiekamrater och.. Kolleger som sagt som man haft förut.
- SF: Ja. Har du alls liksom någon, att du skulle kunna få hjälp av dem liksom, här i Finland, av  
kontakter i Sverige? Finns det liksom sådana broar?
- P47: Neej, det tycker jag nog inte... Nej.
- 82 P53Men inte, det är nog ingen som, vet så mycket om Finland tror jag. Jag hade en  
arbetsgivare som visste en del om Finland men det, det är långt bort på nåt sätt ändå tror  
jag för många Svenskar.
- 83 P51: Jag har tipsat åt andra hållet. Kolleger som flyttar till Sverige och som, som jag har  
kunnat liksom ge nån fördel. Och sagt att, kontakta den här och den här personen på [...]  
och hälsa från mej. Åt det hållet har jag hjälpt till.
- 84 P48: En hel del. Det blir nog så, jag misstänker att hade jag varit härifrån så hade det varit  
mindre kontakter, men, det är nog en hel del. Jag, det är nog ofta jag tar till det att jag ringer  
Sverige, för att jag vet att det är snabbare. Än att försöka hitta motsvarande.
- 85 P48: skulle det inte vara jag, så skulle kontakten vara betydligt mindre till Sverige.  
Misstänker jag, utan folk skulle nog då leta först och främst nån här. Och jag är nog för det  
också, men jag tycker att ibland så finns det ett ändamål i att ha med en svenskspråkig  
svensk liksom. Men ja, det är jag som driver 90% av de fallen det är svenskar med.
- 86 P53: Om inte annat så är man ju, [...] har man ju vissa kunskaper som, andra  
svenskspråkiga, här inte har. Man har då kontakter med Sverige på ett helt annat sätt. Så  
för vissa företag kan ju det vara väldigt bra. [...] Det är ju väldigt många koncerner  
nuförtiden som är finsksvenska eller nordiska, det kan nog vara ganska bra.
- 87 SF: Du har ju ändå jobb som motsvarar din utbildning...
- P44: Ja, och det är helt fantastiskt! Alltså jag förstår själv inte hur det har gått till.
- 88 P51: JA, med den bakgrunden kan man säga ja, för de kände ju inte till mej med mitt namn  
så att säga på [...], men, givetvis kommer man ifrån en sådan bakgrund och jag har väldigt  
fina, avskedsbrev så att säga ifrån mina arbetsgivare i Sverige så att, givetvis har jag, tack  
vare det fått jobbet här.
- 89 P51: Så att jag fick väl jobbet därför att det helt enkelt var attraktivt att någon från [...], som  
ändå håller en väldigt hög standard och som har några av de bästa [...] i Sverige, att någon  
som jag då sökte sig till lilla [...], som de sade.

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- 90 SF: Vad var det tror du som gjorde att du, blev erbjuden då tre av fyra jobb, då när du sökte.
- P50: För att jag är så specialiserad inom det jag gör, så att det är väldigt sällan de får ansökningar som träffar rätt, så rätt. Så så länge jag inom [...], så länge man är någorlunda specialiserad och håller sig liksom, up to date inom det området, så är det för mesta inga svårigheter att få jobb. [...]För alla kan [...], men inte alla kan väldigt djup kunskap inom [...] liksom. Och för det mesta så är det det som behövs. Och då är allting annat sekundärt.
- 91 P50: Kontakter är viktigt för att någon hört talas om någon som vet någon som kan [...]även om man är världens mest osociala person, så får man jobb på grund av att någon har hört talas om att någon har den här bla bla. Om man kan det.
- 92 P54: Jag har fått intervjuer, på grund av kontakter, men sen inte tagit jobbet eller inte fått jobbet. [...] fick min CV och skickade vidare till någon i hans företag, så att jag fick en intervju därigenom, de sökte en annan sorts kompetens. Så, de i princip, alltså jag behövde inte ens gå på intervjun, de sade till mej, ja kan du skicka in ett exempel på den här koden, som kodare, och eftersom jag inte är kodare, [...] jag är inte så intresserad trots allt.
- 93 P9: När jag kom hit, så insåg jag ju snabbt att det är inte lätt att få jobb om man inte kan finska I Finland, därför att det fanns ju knappt ens några företag som hade webbsidor på annat än finska. Så jag var helt enkelt, jag tackade min lyckliga stjärna att jag hur lätt som helst faktiskt fick ett jobb på [...], därför att de råkade söka nån med min kompetens. Och jag hade någon som tipsade mej på det. Men det betydde ju såklart också då att jag jobbade på huvudkontoret, [...] men det är ju problemet som de flesta har, som kommer hit att de enda jobben man kan göra är just sådana här huvudkontorssysslor. Och det begränsar ju väldigt mycket.
- 94 SF: Så det är ändå, du har på kort tid ändå lärt dej finska det är ganska imponerande.
- P52: Mm jag kände att jag måste. Det är lite sådär att, för att jag, mitt första år så jobbade jag i [...], men bodde här. Så att det var fyra timmars pendling varje dag. Och då tänkte jag att antingen pendlar jag fyra timmar per dag eller så lär jag mej finska. Och då kändes det lättare att lära sig finska.